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PREFACE

In presenting what is, in effect, a new synthesis of modern history it seems necessary to define, as well as possible, the reasons for such an undertaking. These lie chiefly in the point of view from which such history is to be considered in the light of the demands of the present and the oncoming generation. It is obvious that we are in a stage of development to which many of the older formulas do not apply, and that we are entering an era in which it seems necessary to take a wider if not a deeper view of the past and of the forces which have gone to the making of the modern world.

There are, from this standpoint, three elements which need correlation to provide a proper basis for the understanding of what has happened during the past five hundred years, and of the situation which confronts us to-day. The first is the connection of the social, economic, and intellectual development of European peoples with their political affairs. The second is the inclusion of the progress of events among the peoples of eastern Europe, and of the activities of Europeans beyond the sea. The third is the relation of the past to the present—the way in which the various factors of modern life came into the current of European thought and practice, and how they developed into the forms with which we are familiar. And it has been the purpose of these volumes to combine these elements so far as possible, to infuse a sense of unity into the narrative of European activities wherever and however they have been manifested, and to draw from these the story of the development of modern civilization in its manifold aspects.

History, wrote Gibbon, is little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind, and that pessimistic judgment has too often been accepted by its students and perhaps too often confirmed by its makers. Such a judgment was natural to one who, like Gibbon, devoted his talents to the account of the decline and fall of a great social and political order. It is, perhaps, natural for any student of the purely political minutiæ of any period at any time. Yet it cannot be accepted as a constant guide to the consideration of human activities in general, for if it is, either history is a false record or we should not now be where we are. Especially is this true of the period considered in the following pages. They record not the decline and fall but the rise and progress of a civilization even greater than that whose overthrow Gibbon chronicled. Such an achievement does not come as the result of crime, folly, and misfortune. It is constructive not destructive, and it does not seem to confirm in the field of human affairs that doctrine of the degradation of energy which plays such a part in the domain of physical science.

It is apparent in the mere statement of the purpose of the following pages that they include much material which, however considered in separate investigations, has not been reckoned as part of European history as it has generally been conceived. This alters not only the perspective but the proportion of the more or less conventionalized historical narrative with which we are familiar. In such a view as is here attempted, many movements, many characters, and, in particular, many episodes, shrink to relative insignificance, while others, hitherto subordinated or even excluded, are elevated into what will seem at first, to many minds no doubt, an undue importance.

In the effort to take account of events or episodes which have influenced the general current of affairs, of movements which have contributed to change, of individuals who have inaugurated or who represent such movements or played a leading part in such episodes, it is obvious that the great problem is that of selection. No one can pretend to choose his material or to judge among infinite claims to importance with entire satisfaction to himself much less to others. Yet the effort has seemed worth the making. For it is apparent that with all the ability and industry of a host of gifted scholars unearthing the remains of the past, there must be an interpretation of their results if we are to put to use the fruits of scholarship, and keep that past in touch with the present. And if this attempt to present a new view of history, its material, its method, and its purpose shall only serve to arouse fresh interest in these subjects it will have been worth the time and labor it has cost.

Finally it is only fair to say that these volumes have no thesis to prove or to disprove. They do not consciously point a moral; they do not seek to determine the ''meaning'' of history. They do not deal with first causes nor ultimate goals. They do not attempt to justify the ways of God to man, after the manner of the older ''providential'' school. They do not offer a brief for the superiority of democracy, or rationalism, or the middle classes; nor do they attempt to defend that progress which they chronicle. Their only endeavor is to show, as well as they may, how things came to be as they are. They are essentially dynamic rather than static; they are not intentionally antiquarian, for they are concerned less with what was than with what came to be. They do not profess that this was, in every case, the most desirable outcome, that this is the best of all possible worlds, or that whatever is, is right. But in so far as the world is different from what it was and a better place in which to live, that fact is due to what we call progress. It is the purpose of this book, therefore, to describe the situations which arose, to indicate the greater lines of change, the deviations from those lines and some explanation of how and—in so far as we can see—why things happened as they did. And it is hoped that, having described the laying of the foundations for the modern world it may be possible to supplement these two volumes by a third which will continue the narrative from the period of the French Revolution to the present time.

It may not be out of place in this connection to call attention to two other features of this task. The first is the series of maps which are intended to form a part of the text rather than to illustrate the volumes. The second is the collection of pictures which are intended for a like purpose. An attempt has been made to select such illustrations as will, in some measure, show what manner of people these were who made this history, where they went and what they did, rather than to include purely decorative material.

Finally it is necessary to acknowledge the assistance which has been generously extended to the author by Professor C. H. Haskins of Harvard University, who has read the proofs of the entire work; to Assistant Professor C. H. Haring, who has read those parts relating to Spanish America; to Dr, F. W. Pitman, who has performed a like service for the parts relating to the British North American colonies; to the authorities of the Yale University Library for their unfailing kindness in putting material at my command; and, above all, to my wife, without whose sympathetic assistance the completion of this task would have been impossible.

W. C. A.

New Haven, *December* 12, 1917.

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THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

VOL. I

"Political disturbances arise from great causes but small events."

"There is no law of history but the law of progress."

"Progress is the change in form of that which is in its nature and substance unchangeable."

"Always there have been two forces at work among men; the desire for stability and the desire for change. To the one we owe much of the permanence, to the other most of the progress of what we call society."

"The progress of society is due to the fact that individuals vary from the human average in all sorts of directions, and that their originality is often so attractive or useful that they are recognized by their fellows as leaders and become the objects of envy or admiration, and setters of new ideas."

"So absolutely has change become the law of our present condition that it is identified with energy and moral health; to cease to change is to lose place in the great race; and to pass away from off the earth with the same convictions which we found when we entered it, is to have missed the best object for which we now seem to exist."

INTRODUCTION

The Expansion of Europe

It is the purpose of the following pages to describe, as fully as possible within the limits set, the great movement by which those peoples and that modern civilization which we call European, developed, overspread, and finally came to dominate the world which we inhabit. This movement, which is, in nearly all respects the most important event thus far in human history, occupied a period of somewhat less than the four hundred years between the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. It followed no simple, straightforward course of carefully calculated, well-ordered endeavor. Like most of those phenomena to which we give the name of progress, it was rather a confused and complicated interaction of different and often apparently opposing forces than a conscious working through well-chosen means to a well-defined end. And its development at home, like its extension abroad, was accompanied by almost constant conflict of arms no less than of ideas and ambitions, which conditioned and not seldom hindered almost every phase of its history.

Its conditions

These armed conflicts were, indeed, for the most part, only incidental to the main current of progress. Without them, it is true, the triumph of new conceptions would often have been impossible, and the expansion of European power into other lands, especially, would have been inconceivable. Yet, without the intellectual and material processes which preceded and accompanied the political expansion of Europe, that extension of her influence, like the progress of her civilization, could not have been accomplished by mere feats of arms.

No means then at the disposal of the Europeans would have enabled them to reach and to maintain themselves in regions so remote as those which they attained. No force at their command would have availed against the overwhelming masses which they met and conquered by their superiority in material and intellectual equipment even more than by their discipline and courage. In particular no such effect as they produced upon mankind would have followed, and their great exploits would have remained as transitory and as barren of result as those of Tamerlane or Jenghiz Khan. In its last analysis the importance of European expansion lies not in the deeds of daring by which it was accompanied, great as they were, nor in the areas brought under European control, though they include more than two-thirds of the land surface of the earth; but in the incalculable extension of man's intellect, capabilities, and resources, of which it was at once a cause, a concomitant, and a result.

Its scope

The expansion of Europe, therefore, is not wholly, nor even chiefly concerned with the mere progress of European conquest beyond the sea. Still less is it absorbed with the concurrent conflicts for supremacy among the peoples and rulers at home. It involves the intellectual, economic, and spiritual progress of mankind, rather than the more spectacular but less constructive activities of captains and of kings. It takes account of the advance in human comfort, and the still more extraordinary increase in human capacity, which revolutionized conditions of existence. It involves the extension of knowledge, which altered at once the current of men's thoughts and lives, especially through the penetration of the long neglected achievements of the classical world into the fabric of European life, and through the development of scientific learning. With science came invention. Whatever ascendancy the European holds to-day is due very largely to the capacity which he has developed beyond all other races thus far, of originating, adapting, and improving devices to enlarge human powers, both mental and physical; and of pursuing a steadily progressive employment of natural laws and resources to his own use.

Yet in such an account as this, it is necessary to consider, beside the material and intellectual development of Europe, those political changes which gradually altered not only the boundaries of the various states, but the conditions and ideals of life among the various races and nationalities which occupy the European world. For upon them depend, in no small degree, many of the forces which have gone to make civilization what it has become. It is no less necessary to consider, in some detail, the part played by expansion oversea. The discovery and exploitation of other continents enormously increased the resources of mankind. It played a great part in the emancipation of the human intellect; and it has created a new situation in the world's affairs. The continent of Europe remains, indeed, the focus of so-called European history. Yet if one considers the world as it stands to-day, and, still more, as it will probably appear in another century, it is apparent that no history of European peoples can ignore those great societies which, from year to year, bulk larger in human activities, and tend, more and more, to form that Greater Europe of which we are a part.

Its period and its background

It was a great exploit, no less of the intellect than of the arms of Europe, to push out into the great unknown, and lay the foundations of a new heaven and a new earth amid the ruins of an outworn system of society and thought. It extended from the days in which European adventurers first gained a foothold outside of the continent, and European scholars recovered the long neglected culture of Greece and Rome, to the time when the first European society beyond the sea broke away from its political connection with the old world, and when men summoned the forces of nature to conquer nature—the age of invention and the use of steam. Its progress was conditioned no less by the impulse of the one than by the long development of the other. Yet neither was a wholly independent phenomenon. Each revealed in all its stages a deep background of achievement and culture which lay behind this expansion of energy and intellect. However unconscious its influence, the immemorial development of European civilization at once inspired and made possible its tremendous extension, once the barriers which separated men from the past and from the world about them had been broken down.

It is necessary, therefore, to take account of many and diverse elements to explain the factors which have gone into the making of a modern world. For it is apparent, as the history of mankind unfolds, that there is no single clue to the development of human society. It has not seldom happened that the most trivial circumstances have led to tremendous consequence; that influences apparently the most remote from, let us say, the field of politics, have combined to produce the greatest alterations in government. And, small or great, important or trivial, the conditions which man has created for his activities and his environment demand for their explanation an account no less inclusive, if less complex, than the organism which has resulted from his infinite and varied energy.

CHAPTER I

THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

I

The beginnings of modern Europe

In so far as any point may be said to divide one so-called period of history from another, the year 1453, which saw the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks, and the last battle of the Hundred Years' War between England and France, has always been regarded as one of the principal landmarks in the development of Europe. This is but natural. The fall of the capital of the Eastern Empire, important in itself, was doubly significant in the dramatic emphasis it gave to the tremendous transition in European affairs, then reaching its culmination. With that event, the boundaries of the European world, already invaded by Tartar, Magyar, and Bulgarian in the east, and by the Moors in the west, were further contracted. The most distant peoples of the continent were disturbed by the disappearance of the Byzantine Empire, which, as the political heir of Rome and the intellectual heir of Greece, had been at once the connecting link with the ancient world and a bulwark of Christian Europe against Asia. Nearer nations were terrified; for it seemed to them not improbable that they, and perhaps all Europe, might be forced to fight for life against the new invaders as they had once fought against Hun and Saracen.

European disorganization—the Church

The terror of the Turk was not lessened by the knowledge that Europe was ill-prepared for such a conflict. The confused transition from a decaying mediævalism to new and untried forms of thought and action, even of speech, which was then taking place in almost every department of human affairs, gave small promise of that unity which seemed so essential to avert the impending peril. The one power in any sense universal, the Christian church, was divided against itself. The earlier schism between the East and West had long since become irreconcilable, and had produced two communions, Greek and Roman Catholic, unalterably opposed to each other. More recently the quarrels within the western church had still further disrupted the solidarity of Christendom, till two and sometimes three rival popes had lately demanded the allegiance of the faithful. Besides these, still, insistent reformers continually denounced the abuses of the establishment or the vices of its members, and so contributed another element of confusion to the ecclesiastical situation.

The Empire and feudalism

To this was added the disorganization of the political establishment. Of the two dominant systems which the middle ages had produced, the Empire and feudalism, the second had almost wholly overpowered the first. It had divided Europe into a complex of more or less independent states, infinitely various in size and condition. These were bound together by ties, strong in theory, but in practice weak and provocative of endless strife. So long as feudal principles and practices prevailed it was impossible to establish even considerable kingdoms, much less a European empire. And social progress was scarcely less impossible so long as the class distinction between noble and non-noble which feudalism imposed upon society was maintained, so long as Europe was divided horizontally rather than vertically and knights of whatever nationality had more in common with their order in other lands than with their own vassals.

The British Isles

But if the fall of Constantinople threw into high relief the disorganization of Europe politically, religiously, and socially, the battle of Chatillon and the revolt of the earls of Shrewsbury and Warwick against the English crown, which took place in this same momentous year of 1453, was of scarcely less importance in revealing the situation of affairs. The one brought to an end the long struggle which England had waged at intervals for a hundred years to maintain her power on the mainland of Europe. The other began that bitter civil conflict known as the Wars of the Roses, when, for thirty years, the land found no settled peace amid the fierce rivalries of the two branches of her royal family. That family was, indeed, far from supreme even in those territories which seemed to fall naturally within its jurisdiction, the British Isles. Scotland remained separate, independent, and hostile. Ireland, save for a narrow strip on the nearer coast, was an English dependency in little more than name; and the people of Wales, though politically united with England, were far from being Anglicized.

Spain and France

In no small measure the situation of the British Isles was typical of all Europe. The Spanish peninsula was still divided among the Moors and the Christian states of Aragon, Castile, Navarre, and Portugal. France, torn by intermittent war with the English for more than a hundred years, had just driven the invaders from all their conquests save Calais. But Brittany, Anjou, and lesser feudal lordships on the west, Provence on the south, and Burgundy on the east, still maintained an independence which limited alike the lands and the authority of the French kings, while the wide divergence of language and customs among the people called generically the French, made the existence of a French nation as yet impossible.

Burgundy

The chief rivals of the French kings, the dukes of Burgundy, under the nominal suzerainty of the Empire for a part of their dominions, were busily engaged in attempts at independence and the enlargement of their territory. The long-enduring dream of a kingdom between France and Germany was destined to failure; but, while it lasted, it was provocative of endless wars, and it troubled the peace of the Emperor on the east scarcely less than the ambitions of the house of Capet on the west.

The Empire

Central Europe, indeed, boasted a formal unity. Under the nominal leadership of the Holy Roman Emperor were grouped the greater part of what is now Germany and Austria; in an earlier day his suzerainty had extended over parts of northern Italy, and in the hope of reviving and making good the ancient claims to that peninsula lay the seeds of long and bloody rivalries which, with like visions of France and Spain, were to disturb Europe for centuries. But the authority of the Emperor was at all times limited by the exigencies of the moment, and the strength of his own character and possessions. His dignity was but a name, and, however he was able at times to transmute it into fact, whatever intangible influence it possessed over men's minds, it remained a variable quantity in Europe's affairs. The imperial power was already on the wane, and such strength as it had rested rather on the hereditary possessions of the house of Hapsburg, which held the title, than upon the shadowy tradition of its ancient Roman ascendancy.

Central Europe

The Empire did not find its only problem in Burgundy, for central Europe, at the middle of the fifteenth century, was no less divided against itself than the western states. So low had imperial authority sunk, owing to the weakness of its possessors and the decline in the fortunes of the house of Hapsburg, that Bohemia and Hungary had achieved recognition of their independence. The latter had begun a career of expansion which was presently to lead to the occupation of the Austrian capital itself; and in the general disorganization even lesser states assumed pretensions which they could ill have supported in more quiet times.

Yet, weak as it was, the imperial authority was the only bond of union among the hundreds of virtually independent and often absurdly petty German sovereignties, whose indescribable medley of conflicting claims and authority bred an administrative chaos, and whose almost universal principle of dividing their lands among the heirs of successive sovereigns reduced most of them to impotence. In this situation, princes, nobles, cities, and districts formed leagues to defend or advance their interests. Larger and more ambitious states, like the electorates, so called because their rulers chose the Emperor, took advantage of the situation to extend their territory and influence at the expense of their lesser neighbors and even of the Empire itself. Some, like Brandenburg, learning the lesson of unity, adopted a policy of primogeniture and indivisibility of lands which was to bring great rewards for the future; and all entered upon an era of unrest and almost constant strife.

Italy and the Balkan Peninsula

If possible, southern and eastern Europe was in worse case than the rest of the continent. In Italy the rivalries among the petty principalities of the north, the Papal states in the center, and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies in the south, was but temporarily checked by the peace which the Turkish terror imposed. Only the divisions among her neighbors preserved Italy from foreign intervention; and her chaotic situation remained no less of a menace to the peace of Europe than to the Italians themselves. At the same time the long line of Venetian and Genoese possessions in the Levant offered to the Turkish conquerors a prize even more tempting than Black Sea and Balkan provinces, and one after the other they fell into the invader's hands.

Russia, Poland and Lithuania

For the district north of the Black Sea there was already another aspirant. Two centuries earlier the Mongols had overrun that great steppe region and laid the Slavic principalities still farther north under tribute. Since then the power of the Tartar horde had gradually declined as the result of internal dissensions, and the Slav states, emerging from its suzerainty, were now busy consolidating their territory under the names of Muscovy or Russia, and Poland-Lithuania. But they freed themselves from the Tartar only to face the Turk, against whom, for two centuries more, they and the imperial Hapsburg power were to contend with varying success, playing the part of a bulwark agaist Asia, which the city that had just fallen had borne heroically for nearly a thousand years.

II

Social and Intellectual Europe in 1453

Such was the political situation which confronted Europe at the moment that the Turks, in capturing Constantinople, broke down the last barrier which stood between them and the complete domination of the Balkan peninsula. But it was not alone against Turk and Arab and Mongol that the continent was called upon to contend in the long conflict which was to make Europeans the masters of the world. Great as it was, the political disruption and disorder within her frontiers was not the only nor perhaps even the most dangerous foe of Europe. Not so dramatic, but of far wider and deeper consequence to her future was the intellectual and social condition of her people, their ignorance and superstition, their poverty and those ruder habits which we associate with a lower stage of civilization, and, beneath all of these, an apparent incapacity to attain higher levels of achievement and understanding. If she was to rise, these were the first hindrances to be removed. It is necessary, therefore, to describe in some detail the social, economic, and intellectual situation in which Europe found herself, that we may comprehend the problem which lay before her and understand the steps by which she emerged from mediæval to modern conditions.

The results of the Germanic Invasions

It is probable that some time between the ninth and the eleventh centuries Europeans had reached the lowest point in civilization which occurred between classical times and those of the modern world. The situation which confronted them at the beginning of the eleventh century was the natural, perhaps the inevitable result of the conditions which arose from the conquest of the lands and peoples of the Roman Empire by the Teutonic tribes. These, with all their strength and virtues, had, at the time of their irruption into the classical world, achieved only the most rudimentary civilization. They were pre-eminently hunters and warriors, and they carried with them into their new environment many of the qualities and institutions which had made them what they were. Of the fundamental industries they knew little, of the higher arts infinitely less than the majority of the peoples whom they subdued. They imposed themselves as a ruling class and held their conquests for generations as a garrison, amalgamating but slowly with the conquered. Thus they became an aristocracy, lords of the soil, collectors of tribute in labor or kind, dispensers of justice, and masters of government. Their leaders became nobles, the mass of their followers freemen, the conquered population in large measure serfs or even slaves.

The Dark Ages

In consequence, with the coming of the German invaders of the fourth and fifth centuries, the mode of life which had prevailed among the upper classes of what had probably been the most comfortable as well as the most luxurious society thus far in human history, that of the later Roman Empire, disappeared in large measure throughout the greater part of Europe. In the rude life of the imperfectly civilized conquerors material as well as intellectual necessities were reduced to low terms; and if the scale of daily life be any test of civilization, Europe as a whole declined enormously after the fall of the Roman Empire. Despite the great contributions made by the Teutonic peoples to many departments of human activity, to government, to liberty, in later times to art and letters, as well as to science and religion, the recovery from the first shock of their invasion was slow indeed. The society which rose from their entry into the Empire was essentially military and agricultural, self-centered and self-sustaining and so tending toward that form of organization known as particularism, or the ascendancy of local over general interests. It was prevented from following the modes of life and thought which marked the more highly organized and cultured Roman society which the Teutons had overthrown, first by the persistence of the conquerors' own customs and their contempt for the habits of a defeated foe, later by their religion which cut them off from contact with a pagan past, and at all times by the circumstances in which they found themselves. This last, indeed, conditioned the whole problem of the reorganization of European society.

The reshaping of Europe —the church and feudalism

For as wave after wave of migrating peoples swept across great areas of Europe, as Lombard succeeded Goth in Italy, as Northman followed Frank into France, as Dane and Norman in turn brought Anglo-Saxon under their domination in England, and as the hordes of Asia followed, pressing hard upon the heels of these invasions, many forces operated to re-mold men's lives. Little by little the influence of the Christian church of Rome replaced paganism and the rival Christian sects from the Greek Catholicism of Constantinople on the east to Celtic Christianity on the west. Little by little society tended to divide itself into two classes, the noble and the non-noble, proprietor and tenant, lord and peasant. Little by little government tended to associate itself with landholding; and, as the middle ages went on, the institution of feudalism spread gradually through the continent. It was a form of society and government based on the possession of land, in which the lower classes were bound to the soil and looked to their lords for protection, justice, and some measure of order, in return for their services as tillers of the soil or followers in war. In turn the lord was bound to his overlord by obligation of military service, and the feudal chain led, in theory at least, to the king himself. In practice such a system came to be too often an excuse for private war and pillage; and, with all its nobler features which centered in the institution of chivalry, it remained a menace to the common peace and the greatest obstacle to the establishment of settled government over wide areas.

Society in the middle ages—the feudal domains

Moreover, feudalism was productive of a system of society which overspread western Europe with a multitude of estates or manors. Here, for the most part, the lesser nobility lived, and many of them, like their superiors, possessed one or more castles, built for defense, surrounded by the cottages of their tenants, and forming independent and almost wholly self-supporting social and economic units. Here and there, at places convenient for military purposes or more often for trade, had risen towns, many dating from even pre-Roman times, walled and moated like the castles. Scattered no less widely over the continent, as time went on, were monastic houses, often of great magnificence, surrounded by the lands belonging to the order which they represented. About them, too, had not seldom grown up villages like those about the castles. To the great landlords, nobles and clergy alike, belonged not merely the land but the chief public utilities of that simple agricultural society, the mill at which the grain was ground, the smithy at which the tools and armor were made or repaired, often the ovens in which the bread was baked. Under their lords' direction roads were kept up by the tenants, to the nobles and monastic orders went the tolls and charges of the trade carried on within their domains, by pedlars or by fairs, which brought them in touch with the outside world.

The towns

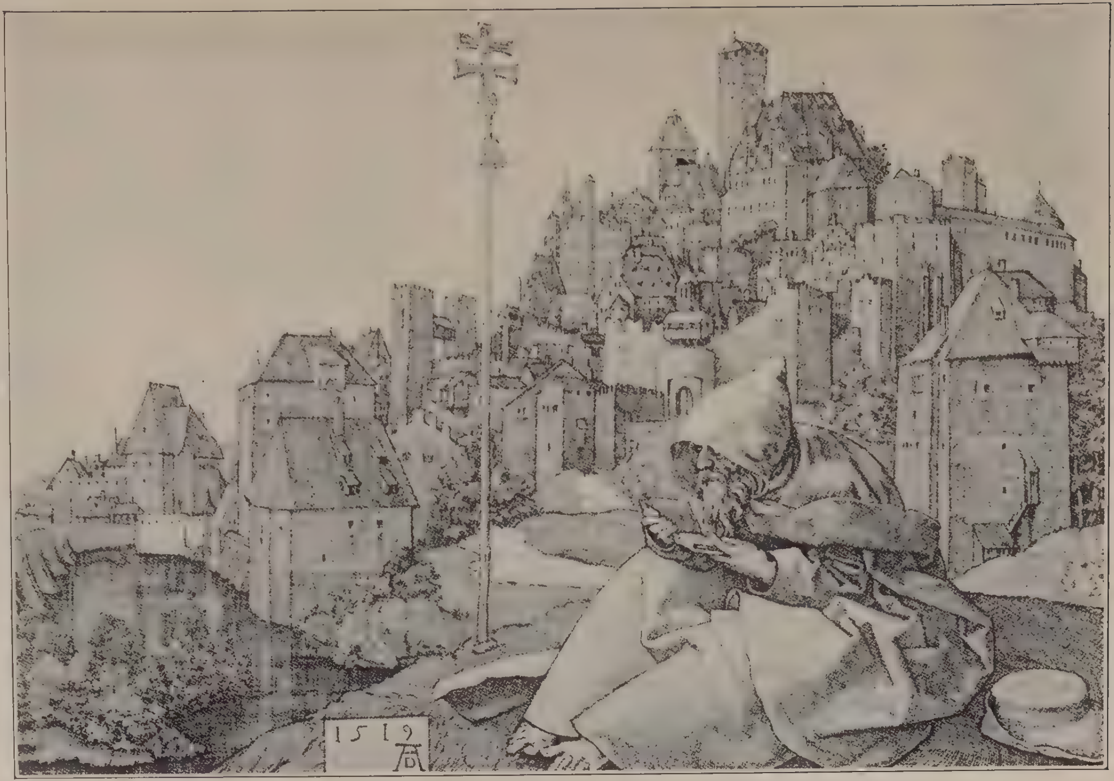
Gradually the towns emancipated themselves from this overlordship. There industry and commerce were chiefly carried on through the instrumentality of corporations or guilds. These were, in effect, associations of labor or capital or both,—closely organized bodies of men engaged in the same pursuit, weavers, smiths, leather and metal workers of many sorts,—rigidly differentiated by trades and interests. In many cases the larger towns had made terms with the invaders at the beginning, or won a certain measure of independence from their nominal feudal lords, and so governed themselves through their own corporations at the price of tribute to their feudal superiors. From them went out the traders to the fairs, small and great, which throughout the middle ages formed the chief means of exchange, to the castles and monasteries and villages; and in them was collected such body of capital, material, and skill as the times boasted.

But trade and even manufacturing were hampered by the very institutions which in a sense made them possible, as well as by the dominant agricultural and feudal elements of society. The guilds promoted and at the same time restricted production. The nobles protected and at the same time often levied exorbitant taxes on the towns and tolls on the merchants who passed through their lands. Outside of a few centers, there were no accumulations of capital to finance large enterprises, and even those accumulations seem almost insignificant to modern eyes. Above all, there was no great common commercial interest. Mediæval Europe was provincial beyond modern conceptions, and, apart from a small class, but little removed from the economic disorder incident to the wreck of Roman civilization.

The social and intellectual conditions evolved under this feudal régime did even less to improve the general situation of the people than the political system which it produced. Knowing little and demanding less of the world outside their own narrow bounds, the feudal estates which sprang from the conquest were in no small degree sufficient to themselves not only for their own administration but for their own support. They not merely lent themselves to local rivalries which made for almost incessant private war and so prevented the spread of the arts of peace in whose development lies the greater part of progress; but the demand for ideas in a society like that which they produced was virtually negligible. In consequence the growth of a desire for things which they could not supply from their own rude resources, as for the establishment of a settled peace which would enable men to engage in manufacturing and commerce to meet or create a demand for the refinements of life, was extremely slow. The development of the conceptions and desires which come as the result of intercommunication by trade and travel was slower still; while the scarcity of precious metals and the absence of any general system of exchange or any tendency toward far-reaching enterprises further handicapped economic development.

Feudal culture

The older traditions of civilized society, indeed, lingered here and there in districts not wholly submerged by the invaders and among the clergy, who by precept and example encouraged a higher scale of material existence in this world while preparing men for the world to come. Thanks largely to them there had been spread through Europe during the middle ages something of that older tradition of living which, with the culture of the Greek and Roman world, had survived in the Byzantine Empire, and, to a less degree, in Italy after the barbarian invasions. But nearly everywhere these higher tastes and habits were exotic. Nearly everywhere commerce, manufacturing, and even agriculture during the earlier mediæval period were in an elementary stage of development. In spite of the progress made after the successive shocks of invasion had spent themselves, in general men lived and administered their affairs on a lower plane in the twelfth century than they had in the first. Though it is probable that an equal force of mediæval warriors would have proved themselves superior in arms if not in discipline to even a Roman legion, the arts of peace had been far from keeping pace with the developments in those of war, while in com-



ST. ANTHONY, BY ALBRECHT DÜRER. An idealized mediæval town.

parison with the Roman system of government, law, and culture the achievements of the men of the middle ages were all but insignificant.

The arts and crafts

Moreover, the homelier activities of daily life suffered great, if unequal, retrogression. Not only were many of the facilities for comfort and luxury which were familiar to the ancients not employed, they were not even known. Most of the ordinary arts and crafts had declined from disuse in like proportion with the amenities of civilized life. Europeans during the so-called ''dark ages'' between the fifth and the eleventh centuries were, indeed, far removed from mere savagery, but they lacked a large part of that skill in handicraft which had distinguished the later Roman world and was not extinct among the older civilizations of the east.

Of the fundamental industries, cloth-making and metal-working, the first had made some progress. Weaving in wool and flax was fairly well understood, but silk and cotton were still beyond European resources and skill, almost beyond the knowledge of the greater part of the continent. Despite the universal use of armor and weapons, the triumphs of steel-making remained in Arab hands; and Toledo shared with Damascus the mastery of its closely guarded secrets, until the Italian craftsmen, especially those of Milan, began to challenge that supremacy. In building, the castle and the cathedral witnessed unusual capacity in the service of war and religion, but the hovels of the poor made the peasants little more than brothers to the ox; and even the furnishings of the rich scarcely surpassed the resources of mere barbarians, save where Oriental standards or the remnants of classical influences supplied the means and tastes for a higher form of existence. The same was measurably true in many other fields. Sheep-raising had progressed as kitchen-gardening all but disappeared. Sanitation vanished with the decline of cooking and cleanliness; and there was probably not a good piece of road-making done in Europe for more than a thousand years after the fall of the western Roman Empire.

III

The influence of the Church

Much men might have learned from the great civilizations whose monuments they saw about them adorning half the continent. But classical literature, its learning, its arts, even its handicrafts, by the twelfth century had been buried so long that there were few or none in Europe who even knew, much less who were competent to reproduce any of its achievements. Among the unfortunate results of the barbarian conquests and the conversion of the Germanic invaders to Christianity, this separation from the classical culture was probably the most serious. For Europe had been compelled to begin again, almost from the bottom, to build a new structure of society, unaided by the experience of the past in many important particulars.

The Church and the unity of Europe

This situation was not wholly due to the limitations imposed by uncultured feudalism, nor to the ignorance of those who practised it. Some of the loss of contact with the achievements of the past must be charged to the account of that organization which in many fields remained the great civilizing influence of the middle ages—the church of Rome. If the chief effect of feudalism had been to produce political chaos, the principal result of the conversion of the west by Rome was ecclesiastical unity. The organization which owed its origin to the teachings of the carpenter Jesus of Nazareth, and its beginnings to the energy of the Galilean fisherman Peter, had altered mightily by the fifteenth century from that humble company of apostles whose faith and works had spread its teachings through the Mediterranean world.

It had early divided into two great communions, the eastern or Greek, and the western or Roman church, the one with its seat at Constantinople, the other at the old capital of the western empire. The latter, in particular, had developed under the guidance of a capable and devoted succession of leaders into an organization scarcely inferior to the old empire whose traditions of world dominion it had carried into the field of religion. It had converted the peoples of the continent west of the Vistula to its faith. It had spread a network of territorial and administrative arrangements into every corner of the new Roman Empire of the church. If feudalism had covered the continent with lordships and manors, which made for dissension and disorganization, Rome, with its system of archbishops, bishops, and priests, with their dioceses and parishes, had bound every district and every individual directly to itself in a unity comparable only to that of the political organism whose genius it had inherited.

Roma caput mundi

To this it had added the monastic system by which its secular or territorial clergy were reinforced; and, toward the close of the middle ages, it had again strengthened its hold by orders of wandering preachers or friars, who supplemented the work of regulars and seculars alike. All these were subject to the Papacy, in discipline and doctrine; the Vatican claimed, and in no small measure made good its claim, to superiority over the lay princes of the continent, as the chief arbiter of Christendom. Rome became again the capital of western Europe, exercising a dominance over men's minds and beliefs no less centralized and effective than the political ascendancy she had wielded a thousand years earlier,—and not without a certain considerable measure even of that more worldly authority. *Roma caput mundi,* Rome the head of the world, became true once more under the church, as it had been under the republic and the Empire. As to her were summoned the intellectual and artistic as well as the spiritual resources of Italy, still the most civilized portion of the continent, so from Rome they were disseminated by the marvelous organization of the church throughout the Papal See. And, in no small degree, these, too, strengthened her hold upon her spiritual subjects.

This ecclesiastical conquest of those peoples before whose arms her political power had collapsed, was, indeed, in many respects a fortunate circumstance for Europe, even apart from the spiritual contribution which the Christian faith made to her peoples. It gave a sense of solidarity to Europeans as against the other races of the world, which neither feudalism nor the Empire afforded, and which came to be a powerful force in their conflicts with extra-European peoples. It provided a common meeting-place for men of all tongues and tribes. In more senses than one it maintained a common standard of life and thought among the diverse elements of which European society was composed, especially after the barbarian invasions. It acted as a link between the old imperial and the tribal system, between Roman and Germanic ideals and practices, which enabled Europe in some measure to combine the two into a new form of polity and society.

Its intellectual contribution was of like kind. Despite its opposition to the paganism of the classical as well as that of the barbarian world, it did much to preserve those parts of the ancient culture which were not antagonistic to its own faith and practice. It maintained Latin as the universal language of educated Europe. It preserved even while it modified the Roman legal tradition, forms, and phraseology. For some centuries it kept some knowledge of Greek. It continued the Roman legal tradition in the modified form of canon law. It kept alive the transmission of knowledge by the art of writing; it was the patron of music and architecture, and, in some sense, of literature. Long after the study of Greek decayed before the theological objections to pagan thought, the influence of Aristotle persisted as the dominant force in European intellectual processes. Long after Virgil was abandoned for the same reasons, the tongue in which he wrote was the common means of communication among the peoples of the continent, and so maintained a unity which would otherwise have been lost.

Its limitations

In many other directions the ecclesiastical influence worked for the perpetuation and the advance of civilization. The monasteries cleared and improved vast tracts of land and practised the principles of Roman husbandry. Monasteries and cathedrals alike carried on and encouraged schools and such education as they afforded; gave employment to artists, architects, and copyists; provided a refuge for men desiring to pursue an intellectual as well as a religious life. The monasteries in particular furnished entertainment for the traveler and succor for the needy and the sick. The church preserved, even if it neglected, the manuscripts of the classical world. And, in a thousand ways it ameliorated the harsh and unenlightened régime established by the Germanic conquerors, no less through its efforts toward checking feudal quarrels and private war than by the pressure it exerted directly and indirectly upon the rulers of the middle ages. Without its softening and civilizing influence the dark ages would have remained mere savagery, perhaps Europe would never have recovered from the collapse of the ancient world.

The Church and science

But with all this great service, with all its material, intellectual, and its spiritual influence, there came a time when the church began to act as a brake upon progress, when faith overpowered intelligence, and what had been almost if not quite the only force making for the preservation and increase of intellectual achievement became a hindrance to the mind and spirit of Europe. For as the domination of the church grew stronger, it narrowed. Theology became its chief intellectual concern, logic its chief intellectual weapon, and the life to come its chief if not its only concern. In all fields which were not touched by theological considerations it remained a power for good; but with the development of its doctrines into irrefutable dogma, with the increase of its worldly strength and wealth, there came an inevitable decline in its intellectual openness. The mysteries of nature became the secrets of God, and so insoluble. Authority became the enemy of investigation; the true faith the irreconcilable foe not merely of heresy but of the paganism which it had conquered. In consequence, the writings of the classical world came first into neglect, then into disrepute, and finally under proscription. What little knowledge there was of scientific methods and results followed the same course, and man was thrown back upon himself as at once the source and the end of all knowledge, upon the Scriptures and the commentaries as the sole fount of inspiration, the church as the sole arbiter of intellectual as well as spiritual questions, and conformity to its decisions as the guide of life and thought.

Moreover, whatever its divine origin, however true its faith, the church tended to develop those imperfections inevitable to any human organization unchecked by effective criticism. Through the gifts of the faithful it came to absorb a considerable part of the wealth of the lands into which it penetrated, and as a corporation which never died, its right of mortmain, or the dead hand, removed great tracts of land and great stores of property from circulation and public service, limiting at once the strength of temporal rulers and the development of industry. Finally the natural tendency of such an organization to demand assent to its principles and practices as the price of membership in society bred a conventionalism in almost every department of life which hampered the development not alone of spiritual but of intellectual and even of material activities. As a consequence, the later middle ages found Europe conditioned not only by the demands of the feudal régime but by the scarcely less obstructive power of an intrenched ecclesiasticism. From an organization which laid stress upon souls and obedience rather than on mind and investigation there could never come the intellectual achievement upon which depended the progress of mankind. It was necessary to substitute for the idea of conformity the principle of diversity before that advance was possible; and in this substitution lay the germ of that revolution which was to remold the world.

Its decline

Yet there was little enough in the superficial aspect of European affairs or of European culture at the beginning of the fifteenth century which promised either social or political revolution. There was still less which presaged great spiritual or ecclesiastical change. The continent was, indeed, nominally Christian save for outlying territories like the southern third of the Iberian peninsula or the vast steppes north of the Black Sea. Perhaps, in one sense, it was more devoted to that faith than now. But, apart from her lessening hold upon the minds of men, however great her contribution to the spiritual side of human existence, however profound her influence there remained, the great work which the early church had done in the cause of material civilization was all but over. Her mandate in that field at least was all but exhausted. What she had brought to the barbarians who overthrew the old classical civilization, of the culture and arts they had so nearly destroyed, had long since become a part of European experience. She had not merely ceased to contribute greatly to the intellectual advance of the continent. She was no longer a considerable factor in the material prosperity which she had so greatly served in the days when her members were scarcely less apostles of improved agriculture, stone architecture, drainage, and cattle-breeding, than they were the promoters of learning and literature, the teachers and enforcers of a moral code, and the heralds of a new and purer faith.

As, little by little, the church had extended its influence into nearly every department of existence, it had impressed the culture which it had preserved with the stamp of its own character, and the civilization which it had done so much to produce possessed the defects as well as the virtues of its qualities. As the middle of the fifteenth century approached, in the face of the slowly altering tastes and habits of Europe, the defects came to bulk larger than the virtues in the minds of many men. In a changing world the church remained in a state of relatively arrested development, and its too rigid and inflexible adherence to its great tradition brought it into variance with the new spirit of the times. Like feudalism, it had outlived its generation; and unless, like the political system which was even then beginning to adapt itself to new ideas and new conditions, ecclesiasticism took on new form and spirit, it was only a question of time till it would find itself at variance with general if not universal tendencies.

Mediæval culture—Art

This condition was evident in many fields. In architecture, with its glory of the heaven-aspiring Gothic arch, its miracles of fretted stone, the middle ages, indeed, advanced beyond the classic pediment and arch. But the greatest triumphs of the sculptor's art,—and Gothic sculpture in its higher ranges revealed great beauty and skill,—much less the grotesques in which the mediæval artists found characteristic expression, despite their quaint and hideous fascination of perverted fancy, scarcely rivaled the triumphs of Phidias and Praxiteles. In two directions, indeed, mediæval craftsmen excelled. The one was their love of nature which expressed itself in the ornamentation of all their work in stone and metal. The other was their skill not only in the carving which adorned their buildings, but in their gold and silver productions, and in wrought iron. Here they were scarcely surpassed by any men before or since.

But the same was not true of the pictorial art. Whether materials failed them, or whether this lay chiefly in the hands of those imbued with ecclesiastical influence, there was a great gulf fixed between the triumphs of the stone and metal-workers and the puerile efforts of the painters. The elaborate illumination of missal and manuscript ill endured comparison with even the wall paintings of Roman villa decorators, much less with the lost masterpieces of Apelles and his successors. In every field where formal ecclesiasticism had made itself supreme "the substitution of conventionalism for sympathy with observed life," which is "the first characteristic of the hopeless work of all ages," the barbarism from which nothing could emerge and for which no future was possible but extinction," had blocked every avenue of advance. For such workers "the world was keyless," for they "had built cells for themselves in which they were barred up forever." From such labors only the "living barbarism" of new thought and action could save the world, only a return to nature and a rejection of convention could preserve them.

Music and literature

If this condition was most conspicuous on the material side of life, it was no less characteristic and even more important in other fields. Music which, like literature, had been impressed for the most part into the service of the church, found itself confined to a single line of development and that not the one best adapted to its manifold capacities or appeal. With all their ingenuity and their summons to a purer faith, the writings of the church fathers poorly supplied in style or content the loss of Greek and Roman philosophy, which, save for Aristotle, had gradually disappeared from men's knowledge as ecclesiastical influence strengthened and narrowed. Still less could the church historians, bent on justify-ing the ways of God to man, fill the place of Livy or Tacitus, Herodotus or Thucydides. The crude turgidity of late Latin versifiers, and the cruder imagination of the miracle plays, were feeble substitutes for Virgil and Homer, the great triumvirate of the Greek masters of tragedy, the mockery of Aristophanes, or the undying charm of Horace and Pindar, Catullus and Sappho. Even the Scriptures, on which the church based its intellectual as well as its spiritual existence, had been almost as deeply submerged under the notes of the commentators as the classical masterpieces had been buried under the mass of mediæval theology. Finally the formal logic of Aristotle, supplemented by a concentrated devotion to theology and presently converted into scholasticism, extended its barren empire over men's minds and sterilized their processes of thought, even while it sharpened their intelligence. For, with all its contribution to intellectual progress, it divorced men from the realities of life, and led them to believe that truth was to be achieved only by the exercise of the unaided intelligence, without observation, experiment, or that quality of vision and common-sense which embraces them all.

The triumph of scholasticism over the classics

From this situation Europeans might possibly have been saved by the study of the classics. But as little by little these had been discredited as pagan, the manuscripts which held the wisdom of the ancient world were too often neglected or destroyed, or turned to the uses of monastic chroniclers or accountants. Scholars degenerated into schoolmen. Science lost itself in the morasses of alchemy or astrology and became anathema to the faithful. Philosophy was overpowered by theology, and this world gave place to the next as the chief concern of learned men. Speculation replaced investigation, words took the place of facts, and mind endeavored to produce from itself that knowledge and understanding which only comes from the intellect working upon material outside itself or in a medium not wholly intangible.

Mediæval science and the Church

It was, then, in their intellectual limitations that the deficiencies of the Europeans of the eleventh century were most serious. Their knowledge of the great scientific heritage, which is the conspicuous feature of man's present intellectual eminence, was all but wanting. Their ignorance of the planet which they inhabited was only equaled by that of the past from whence they sprung. It was exceeded by their ignorance of the heavens which they saw and of the complex organism which they were. Save for a superficial acquaintance with water, earth, air, and the products which their slender powers drew from those elements, or from a slight connection with their fellows in other lands, nature and art were almost equal mysteries. Mohammedanism, though it had tended to check the development of plastic and pictorial arts among its followers, especially by its opposition to representing the human face and figure, had left the realm of nature free to its investigators. Among them the Koran had not played the part of the Bible in Christendom. But in Christian Europe the reverse had been largely true. All the learning of the thirteenth century friar, Roger Bacon, "the father of science," had not saved him from imprisonment for dealings with the devil by the black arts of physics and chemistry. All the skill of his contemporary, the physician-astrologer, Arnaud de Villeneuve, had not averted the censure of the church from one who held that medicine and charity were as pleasing to God as religious services. The laws of nature were not merely unknown but unsuspected by minds which referred all natural phenomena to the direct action of an omnipotent and inscrutable deity. The church was all-powerful, and until ecclesiastical and popular prejudice was converted, conquered, or defied, all progress in unraveling the secrets of the universe was effectually barred.

The sciences

It is not surprising in this state of affairs that biology and its kindred subjects were non-existent. As among the Arabs, the basic science of chemistry was still in the stage when alchemists devoted their slender gifts to the search for the philosopher's stone, which could transmute base into precious metals. Medicine, which had developed some method in Arab hands, among Europeans who lacked knowledge of anatomy, physiology, and therapeutics alike, depended on the simplest of old-wife herbalists, or the chance of fantastic compounds worthy of central Africa mumbo-jumbo men. Surgery was scarcely better, and the knowledge of the existence of the organs of the human body led to little more understanding of their functions than grotesque and misleading fancies of their attributes and uses.

The epidemics

This was the more important on account of the situation in which Europe found itself during the so-called dark ages. The subject of human diseases is not one which we approach with pleasurable anticipation or linger upon with any enjoyment; yet, in the reckoning up of the influences which have made for modern civilization and the changes which have taken place during the long development of the race it is necessary to consider no less the ills which men have endured and from which they have in some measure escaped than the joys which they have attained. It is probable that never in its history was mankind so cursed with epidemic diseases as it was during the middle ages. Europeans had passed beyond the relatively healthy stage of outdoor savagery in their habits of life without learning any of the lessons of civilization necessary to existence in the more crowded conditions imposed by residence within the fortified places where continual war compelled them to reside. Sanitation and hygiene, the simplest of medical treatment, were unknown, the movement of population tended only to disseminate disease, and war added its epidemics as well as its casualties to increase mortality and disfigurement.

The consequence was a succession of plagues which almost baffles description and certainly horrifies the imagination. Leprosy, scurvy, influenza, ergotism, and above all the so-called Black Death decimated the population of the continent and, what was perhaps worse, crippled the efficiency of uncounted thousands of those who survived. How great was the calamity may be judged from the fact that it is calculated a fourth of the population of the earth, some sixty millions of human beings, perished in the Black Death of the fourteenth century. Strangely enough, for a variety of reasons, this terrible visitation seems to have died out in the years which saw the rise of the new learning and the discovery of the new world. That discovery, however, brought new and scarcely less virulent scourges on Europe in the form of the bubonic plague from the east, and syphilis from the west.

Medicine

The development of medicine for many years scarcely kept pace with the progress of disease. For though the health of Europe probably improved during the sixteenth century owing to the advance in cleanliness as well as in medical science with its new methods, knowledge, and remedies, it fell far short of even the low standards of later times. In two directions the fifteenth century contributed much to this development. The one was the establishment of the principle of quarantine, either general or local in the form of pest-houses, lazarettos, or leper settlements. By such means many dangerous and highly contagious diseases, in particular leprosy, were checked or even eradicated. The other was the improvement in habits, which, however slow, gradually raised the standard of health and morals alike.

Mathematics

Nor were the sciences dependent on mathematics, which had reached no small development among the eastern nations, in much better case. Mathematics itself comprehended scarcely more than the simplest of arithmetical operation, with some slight tincture of plane geometry, whose symbols were too often better known as the incantations of astrology than as the expression of intellectual processes. At the same time that astronomy was winning new triumphs in Arab hands, the European knowledge of the heavens was circumscribed at once by the limitations of human senses and by a theology which made the earth the center of the universe, and man the sole concern of the Creator. It was still further perverted by superstition, which, not content with peopling the earth with all manner of superhuman creatures, from fairies to hobgoblins, pixies and gnomes, witches and elves, saw in the stars the determining elements of human fortunes.

Even geography was formalized in learned hands to utter impotence; and the knowledge of the world outside Europe, as well as great parts of even that continent, was crystallized into impossible conventions. That the earth was globular was not even suspected. Men fought or traded with such eastern peoples as found their way to European borders, or from the western shores looked out across the Atlantic to infinity. But in neither direction, save for the effort to regain the holy city of Christendom, Jerusalem, from the infidel, and the occasional expeditions of some adventurous or devoted spirits into the wild wastes of the north Atlantic, had Europeans made serious attempts to penetrate the secrets of the outside world.

Navigation

They were, indeed, poorly equipped for such an enterprise. Their knowledge of navigation was elementary in the extreme. They were still in the coasting stage of development. The compass was half known as an aid to navigation, half feared as black magic, and wholly undeveloped as a scientific instrument. Neither in size, draught, nor construction were their vessels designed for long commercial voyages in the open sea; and they had still to learn the art of tacking or sailing across or against the wind. Though the almost incredible daring and seamanship of the Norsemen—to whom the beginnings of this art were attributed—had carried their slender craft about the coasts of the continent and across the Atlantic to Greenland or even America, though adventurous fishermen may have found their way to Newfoundland, these bold spirits had contributed little to the commerce or the enlightenment of their fellows. They had contributed still less to permanent progress; for their occasional visits to strange lands beyond the sea had been rather like those of eagles or fish-hawks than the steady advance of human conquest or migration.

Thus to the limitations imposed by her political and ecclesiastical system Europe added an ignorance of the still all but uncharted realm of nature whose mystery and power had hitherto been more feared than any human foe. Without the conquest of the knowledge of the earth and its resources, of the heavens, of natural laws, of man's own structure and powers, of the wisdom of the preceding generations, the success of the relatively few and feeble European people against the other races of the world would have been impossible; and, had impossibility been overcome, it would have been barren of permanent result. Without the emancipation of her intelligence Europe and mankind generally would have remained subject to those forces whose mastery has added more to human capacity, resources, and comfort in the last five hundred years than in all preceding time.

The problem of reconstruction

Such an enterprise in conception and result was of far greater moment than any of the conflicts of arms and diplomacy by which it was accompanied. Its captains included men in nearly every department of human activity—scholars and scientists, merchants and adventurers, rulers and conquerors, explorers, inventors, engineers, philosophers and theologians. Their triumphs lay less in the destruction of their fellow-men—though this was not wanting—than in the extension of human faculties, the increase of man's ability to comprehend and do, the conquest of new realms of thought and power no less than new lands, which was to make man less the servant than the master of his environment.

It was essential, if Europe was to grow, that, beside the alterations in her knowledge and power she should take steps to throw off the shackles of political and ecclesiastical organization, give freer rein to individual initiative and ability, provide a more open way for the talents and a wider and more secure field for their exercise than was afforded by the feudal system and the mediæval church. For of the various disabilities under which her people labored in the period now coming to an end three were probably the most inimical to progress,—a social and political organization provocative of particularism and private war, an intellectual habit largely circumscribed by theological and ecclesiastical limitation, and a decreasing facility for relatively quick, easy, and safe interchange of goods and ideas. Each of these in its own way enforced conformity to general or local authority, and so made for stagnation, material and intellectual. They not merely checked the unity and mobility so characteristic of the Roman world; they interfered with the development of mankind on almost every side of his varied nature, breeding a provincialism which long remained the principal obstacle to progress in nearly every field of human endeavor. If the spirit which dominated the middle ages had prevailed, if it had been able to crush the protest which it continually provoked from those classes and individuals on whom it bore most severely, Europe would scarcely have been able to emerge from the impasse in which she found herself.

IV

The Revival—elements of strength

But, fortunately for Europe and for the world, there was prepared in the later mediæval period a revolution in her affairs and thought comparable to that which, a thousand years earlier had set the continent on another stage of her development as a result of the barbarian invasions. For the spirit of protest against convention, like the impulse to look deeper into the mysteries of the universe, had been growing steadily for nearly three hundred years before the fall of Constantinople. Amid the forces of reaction and the dead weight of ignorance and superstition the leaven of a great change slowly made its way, and as the fifteenth century came on it began to make itself clearly felt in many directions. Little by little it became evident that, soon or late, it must come into sharp and decisive conflict with the spirit of authority, and that upon the result of that conflict would hang the future of the world. There was even some ground to hope that the new forces might prevail. However hopeless the political situation of Europe in the mid-fifteenth century appeared, it was not quite so hopeless as it seemed. Amid its weakness and dissension certain elements, though for the moment they contributed rather to confusion than to regeneration, offered more promise of future stability than the apparently aimless turmoil of selfish and conflicting interests indicated. Amid the ambitions of princely houses, and to a far greater degree outside their ranks, other forces than those which made for anarchy were slowly struggling into power. Beneath the surface of ecclesiastical uniformity enforced by the church there were being developed still other forces which had already threatened the unity of Roman

Christendom. And in the success or failure of those factors lay the possibility of reform, even of revolution, intellectual no less than spiritual.

The beginnings of the Renaissance —Italy

The movements toward regeneration were still more evident in fields beyond the bounds of politics, even, in some measure beyond those of religion. As early as the twelfth century there had begun that activity in the realm of intellect which bade fair to revolutionize at least one phase of European activity; and that movement had gathered impetus in the succeeding years, till by the time of the fall of Constantinople it had become one of the principal forces in the European world. During the fourteenth century, Italy, and then Europe generally, had felt the influence of Dante, who, fusing classical and mediæval tradition in the fire of his genius, had drawn thence his epic vision of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, the great trilogy of the *Divine Comedy*. That epoch-making work, reminiscent of the past, penetrated with the philosophy and theology, the social and moral indignation of his own time, was prophetic of a great future. To it he added writings on monarchy, and his *Vita Nuova,* love-songs to his ideal mistress, Beatrice, which struck a new note in literature, and gave to the nascent Italian, or ''vulgar tongue,'' an impetus which set it presently on even terms with the long dominant Latin as a medium of literary expression. Following him the fourteenth century was amused by the diverting tales of Boccaccio which found a permanent place in world literature; and it was inspired by the sonnets of Petrarch, with which the Italian language and European letters entered on a new plane as well as a new stage of their development.

1265-1321

1313-75

The literary revival

In France, meanwhile, the period which began with the twelfth century saw the rise of the *Roman de Rou,* and the *Roman de la Rose,* which followed the troubadours' tales of chivalry, and made French rather than Provençal the national tongue. To them succeeded Froissart's *Chronicles* which, immortalizing the great deeds of the Anglo-French wars, contributed to the same end. At the same time, in Germany, the epics of the *Niebelungen Lied* and *Gudrun*

1338-1410?

preserved the traditions and romance of old Teutonic life, mingled, as in France and England, with the stories of Charlemagne and his paladins, of Arthur and his knights, and the undying legend of the search for the Holy Grail. The productions of the minnesingers, of the wandering students,—the so-called goliardists,—infused at once a new vitality into the language and the spirit of letters. In England the *Vision of Piers Plowman* voiced that protest of the downtrodden which was to be the motive of much future social advance; while the humane and humorous genius of Chaucer, in his *Canterbury Tales*, brought letters into close touch with life, and made English, like French and Italian, a literary tongue. At the same time the Scandinavians with their recensions of the sagas or heroic tales of the Vikings, gods and heroes, furnished another element to that movement which, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, found Europe provided with a body of literature, which took the place of the all but forgotten classical masterpieces, and at least in popular appeal, far surpassed the achievements of the churchmen.

c. 1362

? 1340-1400

Language—Latin and the vernaculars

It found her no less equipped with new and vigorous tongues, which, though they tended to break down the unity preserved by universal Latin, offered means of expression and possibilities of development impossible to a language which had ceased to grow. Latin was, indeed, far from extinct; and long remained the medium of communication among the learned of the whole continent. In it Dante composed his treatise on monarchy. In it scholars and scientists like Roger Bacon appealed against the dogmas of theology. In it reformers like Wiclif and Huss endeavored to rouse their fellows against the intrenched abuses of the ecclesiastical establishment. But the future belonged to the vernaculars. It was in them that the new literary movement found expression, and in them that the great preachers appealed to their countrymen. Into them they translated the Scriptures; and the appearance of the Bible in separate tongues, beside being a literary and linguistic event of the first magnitude, made the first breach between the old and new theology which was the determining characteristic alike of a new age of faith and of intellect.

Revival of commerce

The advance of Europe between the so-called twelfth century renaissance and the mid-fifteenth century was by no means confined to letters. During those years the way was prepared scarcely less in the every-day business of life for the transition which, at the moment of the fall of Constantinople, was beginning to make itself felt in every phase of European affairs. This was the product, in no small degree, of those alterations in habits to which we are apt to give the name of progress. In spite of the relative stagnation of the early middle ages as compared with the commercial activity of the ancient world, considerable advances were made in trade and communication between the fifth and the twelfth centuries. The world moved slowly, it is true, but it moved. And the great counter-stroke of Europe against Asia, the Crusades, which began in the latter period, stimulated improvement in communication and the knowledge of many things previously little considered by western Europeans. With them, indeed, it may be said that a new era begins; for they projected into the provincialism of the west, the goods, the ideas, and, what was of no less importance, the romance of the east. That process was continued and enlarged during the succeeding era, until Europe was familiar at least with the Levant and north Africa, and was not without some notion of the products of the lands that lay beyond.

Trade with the East

Thus, though inferior in many respects to the Romans of the Empire, the men of the fifteenth century were prepared to make, use, and enjoy many things unknown to their ancestors of the fifth, or despised by them. Not only had commercial intercourse among themselves and with Asia gradually increased; the conquests and colonies in the eastern Mediterranean, which resulted from the Crusades, encouraged that activity. The demand for foreign products, at almost all times a sure measure of advancing civilization, had grown steadily. Medicine, chiefly derived from the Arabs, looked to the East for many of its drugs. Materials for its incense, colors for its scribes, goods for its vestments, precious metals and stones for its vessels, brought the church into close dependence on this trade. Spices to mitigate the dreariness of mediæval cookery, or to preserve its food; dye-stuffs to relieve monotonous coloring, perfume to cloak imperfect hygiene or sanitation; cottons, muslins, and silks to enhance the beauty or disguise the ugliness of mediæval heiresses and to increase the comfort of all who could afford them; gold and silver, jewels, ivory and ornaments, found their way to Europe to brighten the lives of lords and ladies and churchmen; till what had once been almost unattainable luxuries came to be regarded in some sort as necessities, and so swelled the current of trade from generation to generation.

Trade in the West

At the same time commerce and manufacturing had correspondingly increased in the West itself. The wool of England, the flax of France, the furs of the Baltic, heightened comfort and luxury alike, once they had passed through the hands of the weavers, the fur-dressers, and the merchants, especially those of the Low Countries, who acted as intermediaries for a great part of this traffic. The hides and tallow of the north, the fish that gave relief on fast-days to the appetite and conscience of the pious, added to this commerce. The timber, the oil, the ambergris and other products of a colder climate, found even more general demand throughout Europe than the costlier goods of the east. Century by century the caravans that made their way between farther Asia and the Levantine ports increased; and with them the fleets that plied between those ports and the busy cities of southern Europe, no less than the pack-trains which passed along the Rhône or across the Alps to the trading centers of the north. Markets and fairs grew in numbers and importance. Everywhere towns were established and flourished. The wealth of northern burgher and southern merchant prince multiplied in like proportion. A whole new world of commerce gradually took its place amid the feudal and ecclesiastical régime of the earlier middle ages, leavening its military and agricultural character with a new spirit. Before the fifteenth century was half gone, it had made itself felt in almost every activity of life, among the upper and middle classes.

Commerce and culture

Foremost among its results was the intellectual progress which owed no small part of the stimulus it had experienced in the centuries preceding the fall of Constantinople to the increase in wealth and trade. Caravan and fleet and pack-train brought into all quarters of Europe ideas even more precious than the goods they bore; knowledge of the greater world and its affairs, of men and governments, of laws, religions, and learning far outside the pale of mediæval European thought. Under such influences the intellectual horizon had insensibly broadened. Problems arose whose solution was not to be found in the maxims drawn from feudal or ecclesiastical experience. A class of men was developed which was dependent not so much on the inter-relations of the old society as on its own skill and initiative, prepared to meet those problems rather by the use of reason than by appeal to authority. Less and less bound by the old ties and the old formulæ, that commercial element had grown rich and powerful enough, not merely to claim a certain measure of independence for itself, but to gain a hearing for its ideas in fields far outside its purely commercial sphere, in politics, in intellectual affairs, even in religion.

The Universities c. 1050-75

It was, then, no accident that in Italy, "the wharf of Europe," the land through which flowed the main current between East and West, a new educational force, the university, first appeared. There in the south the medical school of Salerno led the way. In the north, amid those thriving cities which had founded their fortunes in the traffic arising from the Crusades, and had taken part in the struggle between the Pope and the Emperor, no less political than religious, which filled the later middle ages, there had arisen the law school of Bologna. The example thus set had been followed quickly in other communities within that same circle of influences. Thence it had spread throughout the continent. Paris, the home of theology and its great exponents, Abelard, and Thomas Aquinas, Prague and Oxford, with their offshoots and followers, dotted Europe with those institutions which are the peculiar product of her intellectual genius.

For the most part the universities sprang from the cathedral schools, and they were not seldom dominated by the religious orders, which, like the Dominicans and Franciscans in particular, found in them at once a recruiting ground for their membership and a powerful reinforcement for their doctrines. They were the exponents of those scholastic principles which at once sharpened the intellect and sterilized it. But, from the days when they lent their great influence to the inauguration of a new era in European culture, to the present, they have, with all their failings, remained, on the whole, the most powerful single force making for the conservation, increase, and propagation of that knowledge upon which civilization must, in the long run, found itself. With them, education, though not for centuries emancipated from the church, at least emerged from the cloister.

Canon and civil law

And more: as no single department of ecclesiasticism had more powerfully affected every-day affairs of life than its judicial establishment, founded on canon law, so, of all the forces which the universities set in motion, none was more far-reaching or profound in its results than the erection, beside this canon law, of a civil code. This was based largely on that body of legislation compiled under the authority of the Byzantine Emperor, Justinian, in the sixth century. It was revived and revised at first largely by the jurists of Bologna; and it offered to the world a system of jurisprudence suited to its broadening needs, and relatively independent of church influence. Though it was to be long before ecclesiastical power over education and affairs was to be relaxed, perhaps no one non-theological force proved as great a solvent of ecclesiastical monopoly as that which enabled men to find professional careers outside of the church, and in this the establishment of civil law played an eminent part.

Banking and credit

The study of law, which owed no small part of its inspiration and its initial importance to the service it was able to render to the imperial and local authorities of northern Italy in their conflict with the Papacy, was of scarcely less value to the business world. For in those same Italian cities there arose meanwhile, beside this new intellectual force, a system of banking and credit which likewise spread throughout Europe as far as the British Isles, where its memory is still preserved in the name of London's Lombard Street. There it came in touch with another and not dissimilar force set on foot by the northern burghers, who had been no less active than southern bankers and merchants. ? 1225 This was the Hanseatic League, that great confederation of trading towns, which, enlarging and protecting the interests of its members, extended its power into the remoter regions of the north and east as far as the distant centers of Bergen and Novgorod. Its treaties reached as far as Naples and Lisbon; its trading houses to half the cities of the continent, where, as in London, its once powerful emblem, the Steelyard, still perpetuates the memory of its vanished greatness. By such means as these, Europe, divided against itself politically almost to the point of impotence, had been gradually covered with a network of educational, financial, and commercial relations, as intimate as the bonds of the church itself, and even more far-reaching. And, even before the middle of the fifteenth century, these were making themselves felt in the renaissance of civilization throughout the continent, scarcely less than the literary movement which accompanied them.

Feudalism and the Church

Such were the chief forces which had begun to undermine the foundations of that form of social organization to which we give the name of mediæval, and to establish bases for a new edifice, long before it was apparent to the eyes of the men of the time that the old structure was being insensibly altered. For in the mid-fifteenth century the church was still the most powerful single influence in the European world. Its marvelous organization, which reached to every quarter of western Europe, was still intact. Its vast wealth, its almost complete control over men's thoughts and consciences, the intimate relation which it bore to their most sacred private affairs by means of the sacramental system from birth and baptism, through marriage and death to burial, its control of education and of a great part of legal procedure, all this was still unimpaired, and gave it immeasurable strength. No less the feudal system, though it was beginning to face the rivalry of the national spirit as embodied in the kingships in the field of politics, remained as all-persuasive as the church itself and scarcely less powerful in the affairs of every-day life. It still limited the interplay of class with class and narrowed the avenues of advance in almost every field of secular activity, beside reinforcing the ecclesiastical influence in circumscribing intellectual achievement.

The causes of change

Yet the old and stately edifice of mediæval society had already suffered changes which, though as yet apparently inconsiderable, threatened the integrity of the whole system upon which the middle ages had based its life and thought. For the most part these changes were due to three forces which operate at nearly all times and in nearly every class of society. The first was the spirit of adventure, intellectual no less than physical, which impels men to seek new experiences, and, driven on by the desire to break the monotony of life, to brave the unknown for the sheer pleasure of the new sensations which it promises or affords. The second is the desire for greater comfort, which, in its higher form, we know as luxury, and, in its ultimate ranges, turns to the beauties of color and form and sound, in the domain of art and music, even in letters. The third is the innate rivalry between individuals and societies from which flows not merely physical conflict, but the stimulus to do or to have or to be something better and greater than the rest of the world. From such forces, with others less selfish—the devotion of those who seek rather the betterment of their fellows than their own advantage, whether as missionaries or reformers, or the single-hearted absorption of creative genius striving toward perfection—are derived the elements of progress; and all of these had long been tending toward a new order of affairs and thought.

Among these varied forces there is at all times a certain activity; but the results which they achieve are not always wholly dependent on themselves. That common interest which may be called the organization of society, whether political, ecclesiastical, social, or economic, must be taken into account; and that organization is never wholly on the side of change. Too often it is wholly opposed to progress. During the period now coming to an end, conformity to a rigid system of faith and practice was the price of peace, even of mere existence to the vast majority of men in western Europe. Submission to a scarcely less rigid political and social organization had been the price of opportunity to realize advance in any direction for those classes below the dead-line between the noble and the non-noble. And though, as the years went on, some bolder or more fortunate spirits had defied or evaded the one, and certain groups had managed to gain strength to secure terms from the other, there was as yet no open way for the talents, no unity in diversity, no general liberty of self-expression for all classes and individuals, which is the touchstone of the modern world. To achieve that was the first and most important step in the development of the race; and in one direction, the emancipation of the intellect, this had begun.

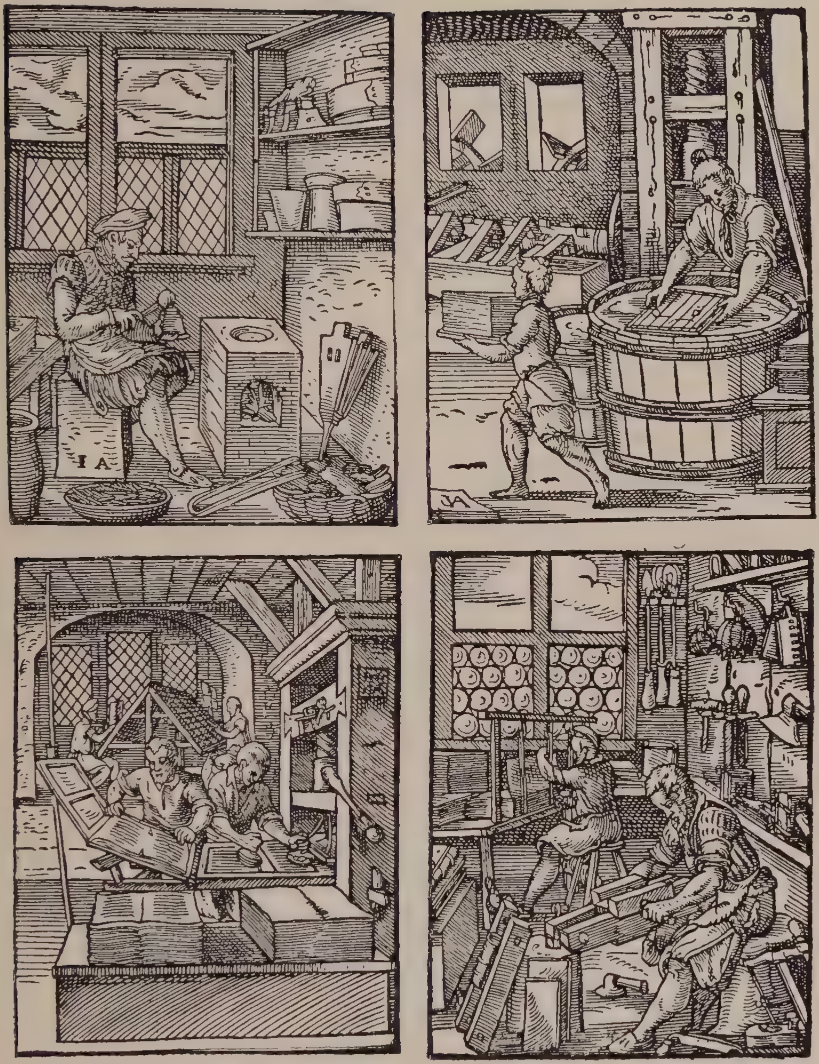
Restrictions of conformity

Printing

Finally to this movement science and mechanical invention lent their aid. In the very months when the Turks were preparing to push their conquering advance to its great success, Dutch and German artisans were engaged upon a new process of reproducing manuscripts by printing from movable types upon paper. That material had entered Europe from the Orient with the coming of the Arabs, and its manufacture and use had spread through the continent during the preceding century. Its peculiar adaptation to the new method of book-making combined with the use of press and types to revolutionize the world, marking an epoch in affairs more important even than the fall of Constantinople. For the first time it became possible to disseminate knowledge widely, quickly, and cheaply, since, "though the few had books before Gutenberg gave us our Art, not until Printing came could Learning, yes, and Wisdom also, knock at every man's door."

c. 1450

It is symbolic of the time that the earliest fragment



BOOK-MAKING.

From the wood-cuts of Jost Amman, 1562, illustrating type-founding and paper-making, printing and binding.

of this momentous innovation which we still possess is a Papal indulgence for those who volunteered to serve against the Turk. Most of all, perhaps, is it significant that the first book to which the new process was applied was the Bible. With the appearance of that volume, in such form that it was soon to become accessible to the masses of the laity, theology took on a new aspect; and it is scarcely too much to say that the breakdown of ecclesiastical monopoly dates from the moment when the principal source of its inspiration and its authority passed to other hands than its own.

Gunpowder and the compass

Coincident with the spread of printing came other changes tending directly and indirectly to the same end. The first of these was the use of a new munition of war, gunpowder, then finding its way through Europe. It completed the removal of the inequality between the mounted knight in full armor and the half-armed foot-soldier, which, in the ultimate resolution of affairs, was to be a matter of scarcely less importance to social than to military development. At the same time it gave to Europeans an advantage over the peoples of the other continents which was to prove a decisive factor in the history of the world. The superiority which it brought them was enhanced meanwhile by improvements in the art of navigation. The compass and the astrolabe, the revival of scientific chart and map making, accompanied and stimulated in like proportion the conquest of the sea; and again enlarged the field upon which an increasing number of men were to play their part.

Thus in every direction the intellect and enterprise of Europe were inspired and assisted to a degree unparalleled for a thousand years before. The middle classes, in particular, to whom these great extensions of human capabilities were chiefly due, were correspondingly benefited. For not merely did every new invention open up new means of livelihood to thousands beside those whose occupations it destroyed. It broadened the basis of life; it developed wide fields of opportunity; and it widened the intellectual horizon of the whole continent. Moreover, it presented on every hand fresh fields of activity for the energies of those who at once created and enjoyed this new basis of existence. With the inventions no less than the revival of learning and the discoveries, Europe entered upon a new phase of her development. Under such impulses the beginnings of a modern world came into evidence, and another generation was to see many of its promises fulfilled.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF INTELLECTUAL EXPANSION

The Renaissance. 1200-1500

I

The Revival of art and learning

Neither the rise of trade nor of the legal, financial, administrative, and educational activities which accompanied commercial expansion, much less the almost incessant wars amid which they went on, had exhausted European energies in the years between the Norman conquest of England and the fall of Constantinople. The increase of wealth and consequent leisure which permitted the acquisition and appreciation of things outside the necessities of life had its effect in fields far removed from counting-house and court; and, great as were the political changes which Europe was to experience during the century which midway of its career saw the old capital of the east pass from European hands, they yielded in importance to the extraordinary development of intellect and taste which, during that period, filled the continent with the inspiring fruits of its literature and its scholarship, and the beauty of its art. That movement has been well called the Renaissance, or re-birth, for from its activities proceeded no mere elaboration of mediæval forms and practices but a new world of thought and performance. The alterations in the content and the method of the mind, the revolution in artistic taste and craftsmanship, were important not merely because of their intellectual and æsthetic triumphs. They revealed the fact that Europeans were possessed of talents capable of the highest achievements, and were preparing to enter upon a new and greater stage of their development.

Italy and the Renaissance

That movement was well on its way long before the fall of Constantinople and it was but natural that it had found its most conspicuous expression in Italy. No part of the continent was so intimately and so uninterruptedly bound up with the achievements of the classical civilization upon whose influence the new activity so largely depended. There, on every hand, were to be seen the monuments of the ancient culture; there was to be found a tradition of learning which had never quite disappeared even in the darkest ages of the mediæval period. There the earliest centers of wealth with its consequent leisure and luxury had developed; the universities had first arisen; and the influences long gathering to destroy the older forms of thought and speech, of art and literature, had first begun to replace the standards of the middle ages with modes of life and expression more suited to the tastes and conditions of a society eager to create and enjoy a new experience of life.

Foreign influence on Italy

To this was added a long connection with the spiritual and intellectual processes and achievements of the east. Arab civilization had strongly influenced the southern half of the peninsula, where there had been founded the medical school of Salerno, first of European universities. It had profoundly affected that brilliant court of the Emperor Frederick II, which in the thirteenth century was at once the wonder and the scandal of orthodox Christendom. Besides this, Byzantium, with its carefully cherished traditions of the classical world, had for generations reflected to Italian eyes something of that luster of scholarship which had been somehow maintained through the vicissitudes of the Eastern Empire's disturbed political history. Moreover, into her complex society Italy had infused a Teutonic element. In the preceding centuries she had been a part of the Holy Roman Empire, and thousands of German immigrants, drawn by politics or commerce, had poured into the northern part of the peninsula. Thus, from every direction, she was open to the pervasive influences of a widely varied culture, which revealed itself not only in her receptiveness to new ideas but in the tastes and capabilities for the refinements of life, which surpassed those of any other quarter of the continent.

Political situation of Italy

That receptiveness had been no unmixed blessing, for it had proved the bane of her political history. At all times after the collapse of the Roman Empire, Italy had been the prize of successive invaders. The Teutonic conquerors who had early founded Gothic and Lombard kingdoms there, the Franks, and later the German Emperors, had in turn dominated the peninsula. To this was joined the rivalry of the Italian states among themselves, the ambitions of the nobility, and that instability which made the people of the peninsula ready at all times to invite the foreign conqueror to aid one party or another against its opponent. The migrations had long since ceased. The strife of imperialist and anti-imperialist, of Guelph and Ghibelline, which vexed the middle ages, was passing; but as the fifteenth century came on it was transformed into the rivalry of the national states and dynasties as the houses of Aragon and Capet took up the contest for Italian supremacy.

Thus it was not in politics that Italy was to become the leader of the continent, nor was it in the south where this new rivalry was first felt that there now sprang up the impulse which was to revolutionize Europe. It was rather among the peoples of northern Italy that there had begun to emerge a culture which for a time made her the intellectual and artistic mistress of the European world. There a Papacy, relieved at the beginning of the fifteenth century from the exile and schism which had weakened its authority and endangered its supremacy for more than a hundred years, had begun to devote itself to establishing the temporal power of the so-called Papal States; and at the same time, to re-establishing the dominance of Rome over the intellect as well as the faith of the continent. There Venice and Genoa, though maintaining a losing conflict with the Turk, still kept a great part of their commercial strength, and the ability which had achieved it. There, above all, as the fifteenth century proceeded, the city states, like Siena, Florence, Pisa, and their followers, entered on a new era of their chequered history.

The Age of the Tyrants

c. 1450-1500

This was the Age of the Tyrants. To the long struggle of the factions for and against the domination of Germany, which had filled a great part of the middle ages, to the infinite quarrels of the nobility and the antagonisms of the various elements within these little organisms, there succeeded a race of rulers and a polity which contributed, however unconsciously, to the rise of non-political, non-religious, and non-commercial interests. In Milan the house of Sforza replaced the Visconti as rulers of the state; in Siena, Petrucci rose to the head of the commune; in Modena the family of Este, in Florence that of the Medici, transmuted financial into political supremacy; while Venice and Genoa retained their oligarchies, drawn from the ranks of their leading citizens. In each place popular assent was given to absolute rulers or assumed by them. The nobles were virtually deprived of that ascendancy which brought the worst evils of feudalism upon other states, and tended to find in other fields the careers denied to them in politics. Thus the commercial centers, relieved of the unintellectual atmosphere of the feudal régime, became, with all their faults, the artistic and intellectual, as they had long been the financial, capitals of the continent.

The Classicists

To their inhabitants the mere accumulation of greater wealth seemed not the end of human achievement, nor mere physical comfort its chief purpose. For more than a century before the fall of Constantinople their thoughts had turned to other means of satisfying their desires for a fuller existence than that afforded by commerce or politics. This took the form of art and scholarship. The slowly rising interest in the remains of the classical civilization which lay about them had early led to the collection and preservation of its more beautiful and interesting relics which escaped the greed of barbarians, the fanaticism of bigots, and the ignorant destruction of those who burned the treasures of Greek and Roman stonework for lime. 1304-74 Classicists like Petrarch, collectors like the great Florentine virtuoso, Niccolo de' Niccoli, scholars like Aurispa who brought from his studies in Constantinople hundreds of Greek manuscripts, contributed to this movement. Princes like the Medici, nobles and merchants, had adorned the palaces which their wealth and taste had raised in every little capital, with these relics of the past. The energies of the learned men whose services the universities had attracted and to whose abilities they offered a career, worked to the same end. The influence of individuals like Dante and Petrarch, bred in the classical tradition rather than in that of the church, reinforced by Byzantine scholars who found their way to Italy in person or through their students, built up a body of men skilled in the learning and culture of the classical world. From its inspiration, and from the stimulus of a reviving intellectual activity, they had begun to develop not only a new tongue and new forms of literary expression but new conceptions and ideals of life and letters alike.

Art and architecture

Nor was this all. At the same time with wealth had come that emulation in comfort and luxury which lies at the root of a great part of progress. Riches had produced not merely the prince but the patron. First in architecture, then in the lesser arts and crafts, there had arisen a body of artists and artisans unequaled in Europe to supply the demands of improving tastes and standards of life. From their hands had flowed a stream of achievement which adorned every city of northern Italy with churches and palaces and public buildings that remain the admiration of the European world. There Giotto, **1267-1337** in the preceding century, had laid the foundations of a new school of painting, and designed the Campanile or Lily Tower of Florence, whose plan and decorations touched the high-water mark of Italian Gothic architecture. There Pisa's cathedral and her leaning tower; Venice with its palaces and its church of St. Mark; Milan with its Duomo; Bologna with its bell-tower; Genoa, Siena, and a score of lesser towns witnessed at once the wealth and taste of a society unmatched in Europe. These, transforming Gothic into Renaissance architecture, became the models for the continent.

The genius which produced them had sought triumphs in other and allied fields. The bronze gates of the Florentine baptistery, "worthy to be the gates of Paradise," were but the greatest of the magnificent works which came from the hands of the painter-sculptor-goldsmith, Ghiberti. **1378-1455** The Pitti palace in Florence and the church of Santa Maria del Fiore witnessed at the same time the talents of Brunelleschi; and the marvelous statues of Donatello revealed the inspiration **1386-1466** of classical models and gave new impetus to this reviving art.

The northern Renaissance

Such were a few of the great names which lend luster to the first half of the fifteenth century of Italian architecture and sculpture. But that extraordinary burst of artistic genius was by no means confined to Italy nor to the working of stone and bronze. Throughout northern Europe the same devotion to the Gothic forms had been evidenced by such widely differing examples of that graceful school as the splendid tower of Magdalen College in Oxford and the chapel of Vincennes, which owe their origin to this same period. Yet even in these there lay the evidences of oncoming change. For though the last years of the long reign of Gothic architecture saw the erection of some of the noblest and most beautiful of its conceptions, in England its so-called Perpendicular form was passing into more florid types, and in France the Flamboyant school had already arisen. The over-elaboration which is the sure mark of decadence had begun, and as Gothic had succeeded Romanesque five centuries earlier, it began to give way, in its turn, to the Renaissance types which foreshadowed the development of another age.

Mediæval painting

At the same time that building and the plastic arts thus adorned Europe, painting improved, and in even greater degree. Beautiful as many of the mediæval products had been, mural decoration and the making of pictures had remained far inferior to the classical achievements in that field, and incomparably poorer than the work of the mediæval architects. The illumination of missals and manuscripts, with all their wealth of color, the exquisite skill of their lettering, the graceful basket-work designs of the Celtic school, the splendor of Lombard and French monkish imagination, lavished upon their decoration, had fallen far short of such painting as the Greeks and Romans had known. The reason is not far to seek. With all the pains and devotion of the monkish artists, their most elaborate figures were lifeless, their most carefully drawn landscapes were flat. And, apart from these miniatures, and the Romanesque designs which adorned the churches built in the later years of that period, the middle ages had known little or nothing of the painter's art.

Early Renaissance art

But as the fourteenth century merged into the fifteenth, there came a change. In half a score of centers, almost simultaneously, there sprang up a race of painters intent upon producing on larger scale and in more lifelike forms the faces and figures of the saints and angels which peopled their imagination. To this, undoubtedly, the improvement of weaving and the manufacture of smooth and permanent plaster surfaces contributed, as well as the introduction of new pigments and the discovery of methods of producing and blending color on a larger scale. Equipped with these facilities the talents of the Renaissance artists began to challenge the triumphs of Zeuxis and Apelles.

The earlier groups which arose in such widely separated districts as northern Italy and the Flemish Netherlands, Spain, and Germany, were, indeed, crude enough in their conceptions and execution, differing only from the mediæval predecessors in their larger scope and more varied coloring, with whatever originality of subject and grouping their new materials permitted. But as the fourteenth century went on, artistic production increased with the improvement of technique, and the demand for such work. From Bologna painting spread through Lombardy and the adjoining states till nearly every north Italian city, from Milan to Ferrara, boasted its ''school'' of pictorial representation, while from Naples to the Dutch Netherlands men seized upon this new means of expression, dotting the continent with studios, whence a new stream of art flowed into European life.

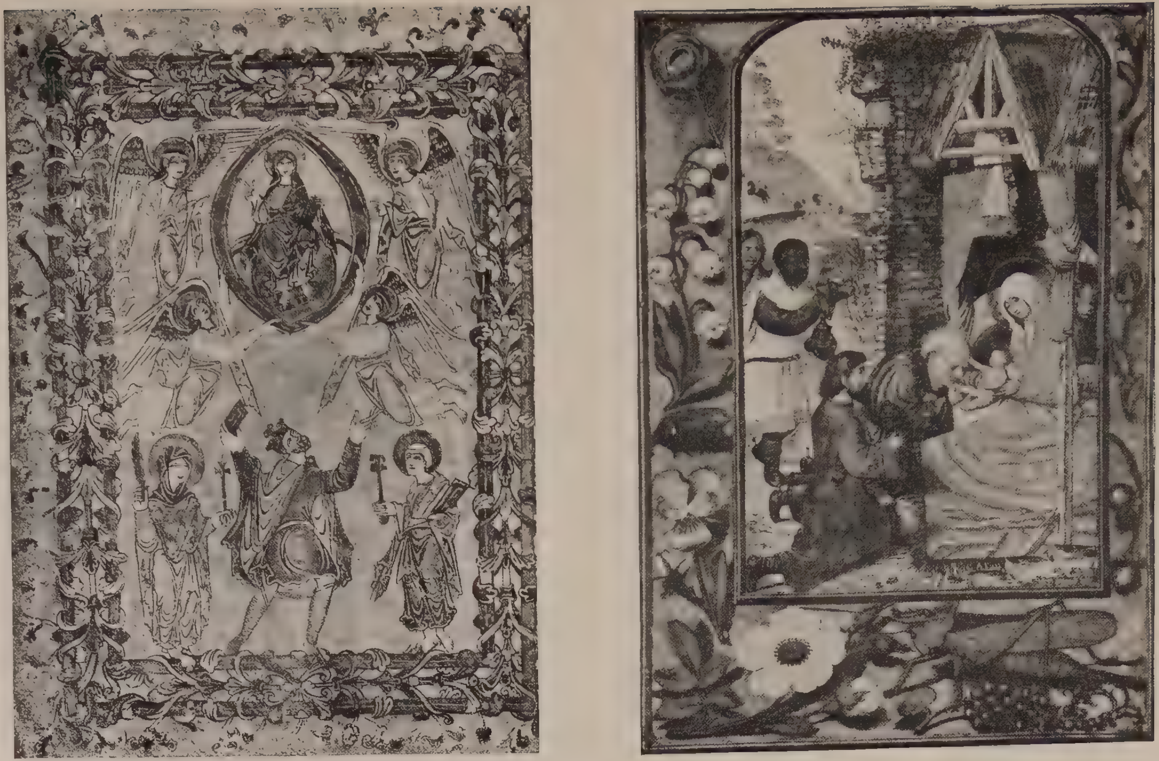
The artists of the fifteenth century "the cinquecento"

It was inevitable that the increasing attention to work in line and color should improve technique, and as the fifteenth century came on that improvement grew more and more marked. If one compares the monkish art with that to which the modern world has become accustomed he will perceive that, apart from the problems of color, three great changes have taken place in painting. The one is accurate drawing, the second is what we call perspective, the third is the handling of light and shade, so-called chiaroscuro, or the art of shadows. In no small degree it was the province of the painters of the fifteenth century to introduce these elements into pictorial representation. Their efforts in this direction, like their experiments in color, were strikingly unequal and by no means always successful. There is not one who combines in his work a skill in all of these fields approaching the perfection of their followers. But they began the solution of those problems which another generation carried to success.

They did more. By the achievements of Masaccio, the great pioneer of the "modern manner," painting was raised to a new level. From the plastic art he borrowed the treatment of drapery, from nature itself the "sense of aerial space and landscape, so that his figures stand in a world prepared for them." At the hands of Fra Lippo Lippi and his more
1444-1510 famous pupil, Botticelli, another element made its way through the medium of an increasing group of artists in which the names of Bellini, Mantegna, and Perugino were, after those of its leaders, the most eminent. Lacking somewhat of the technical perfection to which their successors accustomed the European eye, their delicate refinement of conception and tone, the poetical element they infused into religious art, their simplicity and tenderness, above all the humanity of their creations, brought about a revolution in spirit and aims of still greater importance to the future of painting than even the advance in technique which they were able to make. With them came the end of the flat decorative formalism, the lifelessness of monastic art. And, reinforced by the achievements of the sculptors and goldsmiths, the terra-cottas and
1400-1525 enamels of plastic artists, who, like the della Robbias, found a new medium of expression in these materials, art became at once more decorative and more akin to life.

The patrons and collectors

The patronage of such men was by no means confined to any class. The nobles and merchant princes, indeed, were quick to appreciate the intellectual stimulus of the revival of antique masterpieces. But from the first the new art and the new learning found no stronger supporters than some of the highest dignitaries of the church. These, spiritual officials in name, but in fact rather Italian noblemen, with the



On the left a page from a tenth-century cartulary; on the right an illumination from a Book of Hours, about 1500. These two reproductions from manuscripts, by unknown artists, whatever their difference in ability, serve to illustrate the difference between mediæval and Renaissance art. Compare the drawing of the figures, and the conventionalized border of the one with the natural border of the other. From *Facsimiles of MSS. in British Museum.*

tastes and standards of their class, had found in the church an outlet for those talents which in their ancestors' hands had ruled the world in temporal as they now directed the destinies of half Europe in spiritual affairs. They had not confined their patronage to the collection of antiques, the search for objects of art, inscriptions, manuscripts, and the myriad relics of a long neglected past. They embraced with scarcely less eagerness the achievements of the new race of artists; while their encouragement gave fresh impetus to the cultivation of these refinements and enlisted them in the service of the establishment.

But this was not the whole of this great movement to which we give the name of the Renaissance, nor were its efforts and effects confined to Italy and the east. While the artists reached new heights of excellence, the men of letters and learning had increased with equal pace. One by one the barriers which had separated Europe from her past broke down before them, as the collection and study of classical remains developed from mere dilettantism into the serious business of life for many men. And while the artists and architects, sculptors and workers in metal brought new elements of beauty into European life, a new race of antiquarians provided the continent with an invaluable foundation for intellectual advance. Among them one figure may be taken as the type of the whole.

Poggio Bracciolini

This was Poggio Bracciolini, a secretary of the Roman curia, who about the year 1414 was sent to Constance on a Papal mission in connection with the church council then attempting to determine the great schism which had so long divided Roman Catholicism against itself. Trained in Greek and Latin by the most eminent scholars of his day, his talents as a copyist, his tastes and abilities which brought him in touch with men of like mind in Italy, turned his attention to the possibility of recovering classical manuscripts from their hiding-places in western Europe. To the pursuit of these, buried and forgotten, even where they were preserved in monastic libraries, he devoted his talents, his fortune, and his life. From Constance he explored the monasteries of Switzerland and the adjacent lands. St. Gall yielded Quintilian's treatise on oratory; Langres, Cicero's oration on Cæcina, and from other sources came much more material to illuminate the life of the great Roman advocate.

The discovery of classical manuscripts

To these were joined works in far different fields which fell to the share of this industrious and fortunate collector. Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica,* Vegetius' *De Re Militari,* Firmicus' *Mathematica,* the histories of Tacitus, Livy, Ammianus Marcellinus, the poems of Silius Italicus, the architectural writings of Vitruvius, the agricultural treatises of Columella, among many others, became the fruits of his explorations. Nor was he alone. While he was busy resurrecting the letters and learning of the Roman world from the libraries and storehouses of French and German monasteries, others were ransacking Constantinople for Greek manuscripts, whose collection became one of the great activities of literary fashion. From these sources manuscripts poured into western Europe by hundreds, and even thousands, there to be copied, edited, and finally printed. Through their correspondents the commercial magnates sought such material no less eagerly than the more usual materials of trade. Private individuals employed collectors, and there emerged a new profession, that of collecting, buying, selling, and copying these masterpieces. Through such hands passed the priceless treasures of antiquity. To Niccolo de' Niccoli the scholar Aurispa brought Sophocles and the Laurentian manuscript of Æschylus. In the collection of Filelfo were numbered most of the Greek poets, the historians from Herodotus to Polybius, the writings of Aristotle, the orations of Demosthenes, Æschines, and Lysias.

The libraries

It was no wonder that with these accessions to the knowledge of Europe, intellectual processes took on new life. For their inspiration was not confined to their immediate possessors. Copyists spread reproductions of them through many hands; and, above all, there were founded libraries throughout Italy. Cosmo de Medici, first at Venice, then at Florence, established great collections; the Vatican began to interest itself in the enlargement of its store of manuscripts; and individuals, like the learned Duke Federigo of Urbino and Cardinal Bessarion, contributed their time and fortunes to the great cause of bringing together and preserving the intellectual treasure of the classical world. With this was opened to European eyes the long vista of the past and new ways to be explored. Every year revealed new treasures to men weary of the narrow round of theological disputation, impatient of its barrenness, and eager for new information and new ideas.

The spread of printing

As a result there came into existence not merely a new race of scholars and new professions. Education was slowly revolutionized as Greek again took its place in the intellectual equipment of Europe, invigorated by its philosophy, learning and literature. And when, almost simultaneously, the fall of Constantinople and the invention of printing altered the political and intellectual situation of the continent, the Renaissance received a new impulse. Greek scholars, fleeing before the Turks, brought with them into Italy, and even into northern Europe, not only manuscripts but a scholarship superior to that of the west. The art of printing, early introduced into Italy by the Germans, was there greatly improved, and found at once in this field of classical scholarship ample scope for its activities. It was enormously stimulated by the capture and sack of Mainz by Adolf of Nassau in 1462. That event,—comparable to the capture of Constantinople,—scattered printing and printers throughout Europe, and so gave new impetus to printing and scholarship alike. For it provided everywhere that ''circulating medium of culture'' which was so supremely essential to the diffusion of the new learning and humanism generally. From the young presses flowed a steady stream of volumes, which, edited by the rising scholarship of the continent, at once put into European hands the inspiration of the ancient world and secured for it a permanence and an audience impossible to the age of copyists.

Such was the humanism, or New Learning, which during the fifteenth century found its way through the continent by the activities of the scholars. It was, indeed, not long confined to Italy. Across the Alps the scholars of France and Germany, England and the Netherlands, eagerly embraced the same cause, while even some nobles followed the example of their Italian contemporaries, and, like Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, who enriched Oxford with its first great library, turned at least a part of their talents and their wealth to the service of civilization. That cause, meanwhile, found expression and support in a new form of organization which was to culture what universities had long been to education. This was the academy, a voluntary association of men devoting their time, energy, and wealth to the pursuit and publication of scholarly, literary, and, finally, scientific productions. Founded on ancient models, like those of Plato and Socrates, and beginning in a variety of forms during the two preceding centuries, this movement now crystallized in northern Italy. Thence it spread slowly through the European world until scarcely a nation or a city of consequence lacked an institution of this sort. And these, throwing "little specks of light on the still ocean of the past," encouraged by their existence and their patronage the extension and preservation of all forms of intellectual activity and so became a powerful factor in the life and progress of the European peoples.

The New Learning and the academies

Florence and the Platonic Academy

In this great development, as in art, Florence had from the beginning taken a leading part, and with the accession of the banking family of Medici to the headship of the state, especially with the reign of Lorenzo, called the Magnificent, that city became for the time the intellectual capital of Europe. There was situated the earliest and most powerful of these societies, the so-called Platonic Academy, founded by Cosimo de Medici, and strengthened by Lorenzo. To it was summoned the scholar Ficino as president, high-priest or " hierophant" of the Platonic cult, which now stood forth to challenge the long supremacy of Aristotle. With the translation of Plato began an era in the intellectual development of Europe, which set the great humanist's idealistic, imaginative, æsthetic, eclectic ideas in opposition to the dogmatic,

1433-99

material, logical system of his antagonist. It is not too much to say that with the introduction of Platonism into European thought there began a revolution of no less consequence than that presently effected by the discovery of the transatlantic passage and the worlds beyond. From this academy other elements found their way into the method and content of human thought. Politian strove to revive the golden age of 1454-94 classical literature, and in his hands the neo-Latin movement gained fresh beauty and strength. Midway between the new learning and the old orthodoxy, Pico della Mirandola sought 1463-94 in the Hebrew Kabbalah the source and proof of Christian mysteries, and from his union of scholarship and theology gave a powerful impulse to a school of inquiry which applied historical and critical methods to the foundations of dogma. And from a hundred hands there came editions of classical texts, notes, criticisms, imitations, comment and literature which revolutionized both the processes and the substance of European thought.

Under such influences the renaissance of art took on fresh life. The educational system which had dominated the middle ages with its formalized trivium and quadrivium—grammar, logic, and rhetoric; arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy—which, with law, medicine, and the all-powerful study of theology, made up the training of the mediæval mind, was at once enlarged and liberalized. Literature felt a like impulse and pressed farther along the ways already pointed out by the pioneers in prose and poetry of the preceding century. The new learning was not without its practical effect in many fields. Already, under the patronage of Alfonso of Naples, then in conflict with the Papacy, Valla 1406-57 had applied historical criticism to the documents upon which the church founded its claims to temporal sovereignty, and had proved that the so-called Donation of Constantine, which had long been accepted as a title-deed to its possessions, was a forgery.

Æneas Sylvius

Meanwhile, as classical models were again set before Europe, there came an alteration in taste which profoundly affected almost every department of life and thought. It made its way into affairs and among its results none was more striking than the change in the type of men and minds which came into those high places not reserved for those merely born to greatness. 1458 Five years after the fall of Constantinople there came to the Papal throne Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini. His very name echoed the now dominating classical impulse. He had grown rich by discovering alum mines in the Papal territories; assumed the cross for a crusade against the Turks; and gained literary eminence by such diverse works as a history of Bohemia, a life of Frederick III, geographical treatises, erotic poems, and theological tracts. The advent to the Papacy of the first writer who "consciously applied a scientific conception of history to the explanation and arrangement of passing events," marks a new stage of intellectual development; and no circumstance could have been more significant of the change in values which was coming over the European mind than the elevation of such a character to the headship of the church.

The northern Renaissance and literature

But Italy was not alone in her glory, nor unique in her devotion to art and literature in this period of the budding Renaissance. Across the Alps the poet-thief, Villon, brought to still greater perfection those types of formal versification, 1445-1511 the villanelle, chant royal, ballade and rondeau which took their place beside the Italian sonnet as poetical models.

> "When song, new-born, put off the old world's attire
> And felt its tune on her changed lips expire."

Working through the same medium, the new French, the historian Comines took up the burden of Froissart and Monstrelet in chronicling the last exploits of a fading chivalry. In Germany the Meistersinger, last of the troubadors, first of the modern poets, held their picturesque contests. In England Malory revived the legends of King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table. And, noblest expression of the ? 1380-1471 best side of Latin Christianity, the *Imitation of Christ*, a manual and exhortation to the Christian life, from the hand of an humble Rhenish monk, Thomas à Kempis, began its long career of comforting the weary heart of man. Than such works as these, nothing could have been more significant of the transition from old to new. They were the products of an age which looked back to an era of knightly adventure and monastic self-sacrifice, even while it prepared a period of literary, artistic, and scientific achievement which actively, if unconsciously, undermined the foundations of a past already entering the realm of the imagination.

Savonarola

To these forces was added another element, the progress of a reforming spirit within the church. In the very days and place that saw the rulers of the ecclesiastical establishment strain every nerve to re-invigorate their temporal sovereignty, and the leaders of the intellectual revival turn from church and morality alike, was heard the voice of Girolamo Savonarola, the monk of Florence, thundering against the vice and folly of church and world in tones prophetic of approaching revolution. That warning was little heeded, and not for a quarter of a century was the protest thus voiced to become a part of the great movement then making for the regeneration of the continent. For the time being Europe seemed content with the absorbing pursuits which her political activities and the renaissance of art and learning and literature had made possible. But amid the multifarious concerns with which her people busied themselves in the last half of the fifteenth century, the spirit which he voiced made its unnoticed way, preparing to play its part in the next act of the European drama.

1452-98

In one direction the Renaissance fell short—the development of a philosophy to combat the dogmatism of the church. Its indirect effect was, indeed, great, but had it taken classical thought more seriously, it might have developed some more practicable method of combating authority, which like rationalism in later centuries would have enabled its followers to advance beyond dogma and revelation to a more reasonable if not a more logical attitude toward life, its meanings and its problems. That opportunity it missed, and meanwhile, more pressing, and, it seemed, more practical concerns demanded immediate attention.

Had the Renaissance been confined to art and letters, or to classical scholarship, it might have proved as barren of permanent advantage as the influences which gave it birth. Without some more substantial element, some power to connect this burst of energy with every-day affairs, it might have spent itself in dreary dilettante patronage of barren intellect, with all the petty shibboleths and incapacity which accompany mere appreciation. It might well have degenerated into like courses which had led men into the deserts of scholasticism, had it not been preserved by two influences. The one was the tendency of the new literature to dissociate itself from ecclesiastical authority and to relate itself to the world about it rather than to the abstractions of either pure intellect or theology. The other was the advance of scientific knowledge, which, in like fashion, diverted men's attention from the insoluble questions of the infinite and the absolute to the more tangible problems of mundane affairs.

The Revival of the sciences, arts, and crafts

If mediæval Europe had suffered much from the destruction of the settled system of society, and the interruption or diversion of intellectual processes into ways as barren of result as classical science, she had suffered scarcely less from the loss of that practical knowledge upon which the material fabric of the ancient world rested. With the revival of learning she began to recover not merely the thought but the usage of the older civilization. Among the literary remains uncovered by the archæological revival were treatises on war and navigation, building and gardens, astronomy, mathematics, and a score of no less substantial affairs, which contributed, if not to the thought, at least to the practice of the oncoming generations. That information, added to the hard-won knowledge of experience, helped to set Europe on new paths of activity at the same moment that her scholars introduced a new philosophy of life, her men of letters and her artists put before her new achievements and ideals, and her adventurers led the way to new lands.

Mathematics

One of the earliest and greatest symptoms of this progress along practical and scientific lines was the revolution in mathematics. The early middle ages, characteristically, had preserved and taught the propositions of Euclid, but not his proofs; its arithmetical calculations had found their highest expression in the abacus. Its elementary knowledge of geometry had been confined, where it was preserved at all, to the purposes of the surveyor and the architect, or to the less useful services of the astrologer. But with the insistent demands of the new navigation and the concurrent discovery of classical manuscripts, there came a change. Little by little the knowledge of Greece and Rome was added to that derived from experience and drawn from Arab sources. And, what was more important still, mathematics came into the hands of scholars and was infused with that spirit of investigation which ensured its development.

Purbach

Its principal exponents were found in Germany. The great work of Purbach in Vienna brought to the attention of European scientists—as these men came gradually to be known—the contribution of Ptolemy who had summed up the ancient knowledge of the earth and heavens. But long before Purbach the renaissance of mathematics and astronomy had begun. The so-called Almagest, which the Arabs had translated from the Alexandrian geographer's writings, was brought within the widening circle of general European intellectual achievement as early as the twelfth century; and the long eclipsed science of trigonometry, of such incalculable value to geography and navigation, was rescued and revived.

Regiomontanus
1436-76

The Viennese astronomer but summed up the labors of his predecessors. To him succeeded, among others of less note, his pupil Johann Müller, better known by his assumed name of Regiomontanus, sometime a student in Italy, finally a citizen of Nuremberg. There, with his associate, Walther, a rich merchant, he published books and constructed astronomical instruments, by which it became possible to correct those Arabian calculations, the so-called Alphonsine tables, which since the thirteenth century had formed the basis of European study of the heavens. In such hands map-making was revived as the pursuit of learned men, the science of geography was revolutionized with that of astronomy. New methods of measuring time, tables of declination, catalogues of stars, took their place in Europe's rapidly developing intellectual resources.

Spread of printing

As secular, and, in particular, scientific, learning thus paralleled the progress of classical scholarship, art, and literature, it was reinforced no less by printing. For the first time it was possible not only to record the results of such labors in books whose very number ensured their permanence, but to make this work available to many widely separated workers in the same field, so that its fruits were quickly spread throughout the continent and progress thus made more rapid and secure.

How great a service was thus rendered was soon apparent. The Bible was, naturally, the first book to fall from the press, and printing lent its powerful aid to classics and theology. From the Italian publishing houses poured a stream of volumes drawn from the masterpieces collected by the archæologists and edited by the scholars, who, like the printers, were so largely indebted to the academies for their support.

Geography

But it was not long before the interest in geography produced a literature of surprising magnitude in that field. Among the earliest books which came from the press were Pomponius Mela's cosmography, *De Situ Orbis,* and Ptolemy's great work, the *Geographia,* of which not less than three editions appeared within a little more than a decade. In the same years Marco Polo's *Travels* delighted European readers; and not long thereafter the prototype of all lying travelers' tales, the book of Sir John Mandeville, saw the light of print. Finally d'Ailly's work, the last desperate attempt of the old school to harmonize the mediæval doctrines with the new astronomy, marked the end of the long controversy between dogmatic theory and revealed fact, as Europe turned definitely toward a modern cosmogony.

One may well question whether, with all the stimulus of putting the Bible and the schools of ancient thought within the reach of every reader on the continent, the effect of these scientific works was not fully as great a factor in the intellectual advance as even scriptural and classical scholarship. In this field of print all the new intellectual movements found common ground, and printing became the universal bond among the peoples of western Europe at the same moment that the church began to lose something of its once unique position as the meeting place of all nations. Everywhere learned and even merely curious men, German geographers, Italian scholars, merchants of all lands, nobles and clergy and laity, turned their attention to new fields of human endeavor. Learning and secular literature, for the first time in a millennium, found themselves on an equality with the utterances of the theologians, and the layman began to play a part in the intellectual life of the continent.

The Industrial transition

This was the more important because of the gradual rise of that class to greater place in European society and economy during the preceding centuries. The development of organizations of merchants like the Hanseatic League and the Merchants of the Staple was not the only evidence of the progress of the non-noble elements throughout the continent. No less important and scarcely less powerful were the associations of craftsmen which owed their origin to the same period; and even more significant than the rise of the traders was the development of the manufacturing classes in whose wares they dealt.

The handicraft system

That development was almost wholly the product of the towns. The feudal estates, as has been said, were, for the most part, possessed of artisans whose rude skill, supplemented by the households which were scarcely less self-contained, sufficed for the simple demands of their relatively primitive society. The towns early developed greater skill and larger production. There the early stages of manufacturing, chiefly in weaving and metal-work, took the form of the so-called handicraft system, by which the workers, largely in their own homes, carried on the labors of their crafts—spinning and weaving, leather-dressing and working, the manufacture of weapons and armor, wood and iron working, gold and silversmithing, and the like.

One of the earliest developments was the gradual alteration from the industrial methods of the middle ages which made production of the finished article the test of craftsmanship, to the substitution of process for product. To the household industry which had raised, spun, woven, and dyed cloth, succeeded the handicrafts which made each process the basis of its existence. To the crude smithy succeeded the more highly specialized crafts which wrought the iron, turned it into steel, and from it produced the blades, the scabbards, even the handles separately; and tempered, finished, and polished the weapons by different hands and trades.

The Guilds

Upon these there was developed during the later middle ages that form of distributing organization, at once mercantile and social, known as the guild. It was intended to ensure justice and equal opportunity to its members, to limit and standardize production, and maintain prices and quality. From that it was but one step to monopoly, which became the characteristic feature of most manufacturing and commercial activity for the ensuing centuries, as against the efforts of individuals to excel, or even to introduce new methods. By the fifteenth century that struggle was already in evidence; and beside the efforts of men to emancipate themselves from the domination of church and feudal monopoly may well be set the attempt of those unrecognized individuals to break through the privileges of organized labor and capital and emancipate industry.

To this, by the middle of the fifteenth century had been added a powerful tendency toward the emergence of a class midway between the producer and the mere merchant, the middleman, or *entrepreneur,* from whom, indeed, a considerable element in the so-called merchant class was developed, as in later years the banker was evolved from the goldsmith. Generally speaking, this promoter was the product of the so-called ''putting-out'' system, under which the merchant-manufacturer gathered the raw material, distributed it among the workers, and disposed of the product. This arrangement, not unconnected with the guilds, developed gradually, and under opposition from many directions slowly made way until it became a powerful factor in that part of industry which was related to commerce.

It was closely connected with another element which marks one of the principal distinctions between mediæval and modern activities in this field,—the problem of the market, upon which depended in no small degree the development of industry. That market was limited, in earlier times, by the political chaos of the continent, no less than by the difficulties of transportation; and it was not until the establishment of settled peace over wider areas and the increasing mobility of men and goods that there came any great improvement in the volume of commerce. It was still necessary to have some more powerful body to protect trade, nor was it possible for a century more to dispense with the security of the great mercantile organizations, as political organizations took up the work. As yet, outside of these mercantile associations, trade was largely limited to relatively local areas, and organization followed the lines laid down by the market. It was already possible for individuals like the first of the Gobelins to establish great dye-works and make a fortune from his product. It was already possible for others like the first of the Fuggers to become a master-weaver, head of the guild, virtual monopolist of the region in which he lived, and even turn banker. But in the main, industry, like every other form of organization, maintained those restrictive characteristics which it had inherited. And in the beginnings of opposition to them, as in the development of new processes, and new forms of production and marketing, lay the seed of an industrial revolution which was to be no less important to the expansion of Europe than the intellectual and spiritual development by which it was accompanied.

The Renaissance and the middle classes

The middle classes, to whom these great extensions of human capabilities were chiefly due, were correspondingly benefited. Every new invention opened up new means of livelihood, not merely to those whose occupations were destroyed but to thousands of others. For, with the widening of the intellectual horizon, fresh fields of activity presented themselves on every hand for the energies of those who at once created and enjoyed the new basis of life. With such impulses the beginnings of a modern world came into evidence, and another generation was to see many of their promises fulfilled.

The Renaissance, as this great movement was to be known, had dawned; and its first beams had begun to illuminate the Europe of the fourteenth century with the light of the New Learning, whose "humanism," as it was called, now challenged the long rule of scholasticism. At the same moment politics, commerce, even religion, or, more properly, theology and ecclesiasticism, showed signs of an impending change. "The general capacity for liberal culture, restored to the world, became a part of the higher life of the race." Coming upon a people seeking new solutions for the problems of existence, no less in their private than in their public concerns, the example of the ancient world offered at once a new basis of knowledge and new methods of approach, spiritual and material.

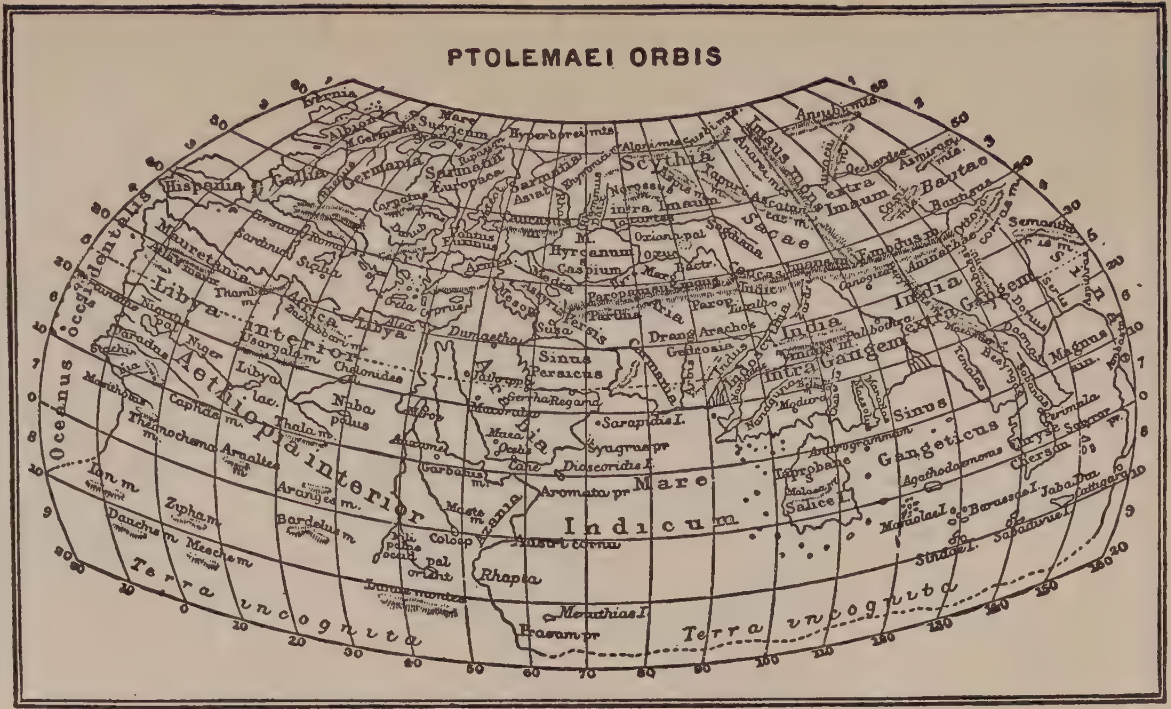
II

The revival of geography

In this development one phase of knowledge soon rivaled classical scholarship; perhaps, in certain directions, even surpassed it in interest and importance. This was geography. It seldom happens in any age of the world that even a considerable minority of men, much less a majority, allow the claims of the past, however powerful, to outweigh the more pressing demands of the present or the promise of the future. Nor was this period of the so-called Renaissance, which was rising to its zenith during the fifteenth century, an exception to the rule. It was inevitable that, whatever the changes produced by a reviving interest in the past, men should desire to know not merely what had gone before but what lay about them; that, with the undoubted charm and importance of art, letters, and philosophy, men should be still more absorbed in the practical affairs of every day. No circumstance was more typical of the transition from the old to the new, therefore, than the advances made in the geographical sciences between the thirteenth and the sixteenth century.

Ancient knowledge of the world

Before this time the most extensive knowledge of the world possessed by Europeans had been attained under the Roman Empire. Summarized first by Strabo in the first century of the Christian era, and a hundred and fifty years later by the greatest of the ancient geographers, Claudius Ptolemy of



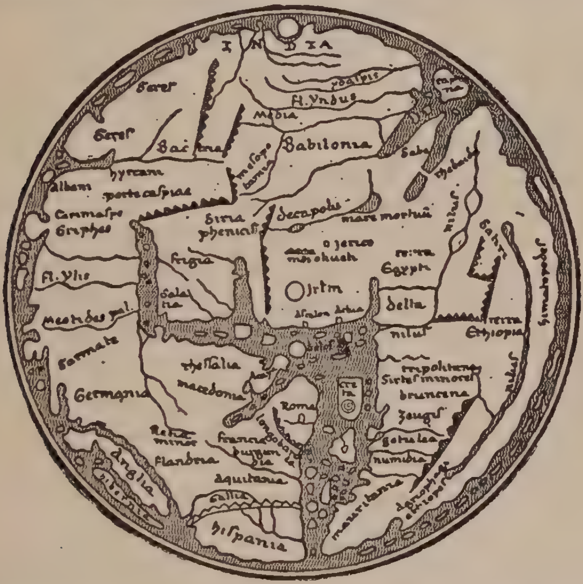
Ptolemy's Map of the World, re-drawn from C. Müller's edition, 1883-1906.

This map, drawn by Claudius Ptolemæus of Alexandria in the second century A.D., became the basis of cartography when it revived in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. (See Ptolemy, 1540 map, p. 73.) It will be noted that it includes only the "known world," omitting the Pacific Ocean, the western hemisphere, and a great part of the Atlantic. The error consists in the elongation of the degree and measuring eastward from the Fortunate Isles (Insula Beatorum), thus greatly increasing the European-Asiatic land-mass and correspondingly diminishing the size of the unknown world.

Alexandria, in the most famous of ancient maps, that knowledge was, of course, by no means perfect. It was naturally most accurate in the regions of the Mediterranean, the Red and the Black Seas; while the northern coasts of Europe were practically uncharted, and even the British Isles were distorted almost beyond recognition. Ptolemy's detailed knowledge of what was known as the "Inhabited World" was, in general, limited on the south by the Soudan and the upper Nile, which had been reached by the Romans; and on the east by the Jaxartes, which had been reached by Alexander. Beyond these he had some notion of more distant points; the Fortunate Isles on the west, whence he calculated his longitude eastward; the Mountains of the Moon on the south; the Pamirs; and even Serica, the land of silk, Sinæ, Thinæ, or China on the east. The three southern peninsulas of Asia were indicated on his map. But other and earlier charts, based on the voyages of Greek merchants—the so-called Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, and the account of the geographer Marinus in particular, which were apparently unknown to Ptolemy,—reveal a greater knowledge of these regions than that evidenced by him as it has come down to us. Finally, through an error, long discouraging to navigators, the great geographer connected Africa and eastern Asia by an "unknown southern land," which converted the Indian Ocean into an inland sea, like the Mediterranean, and rendered a seaway to the East apparently impossible.

Mediæval knowledge of the world

With all its faults, the geographical knowledge of the ancients was far from contemptible; but perhaps no branch of human enlightenment was more affected by the dissolution of Greek and Roman civilization. The shock of the barbarian invasions suddenly and violently contracted both the desire and the necessity for such knowledge. The Ptolemaic tradition was in large part neglected, distorted or forgotten. When it was revived, one great improvement and two great errors made by Ptolemy were revived with it, and, as sometimes happens, the errors proved more valuable than the accuracies. The Alexandrine geographer had devised a system of measuring latitude and longitude, in itself ingenious and useful; but, basing his calculations on insufficient knowledge, he had made the degree too long, and the circumference of the earth, in consequence, too small. Reckoning from the undetermined position of the Fortunate Isles eastward only, the apparent distance between western Europe and eastern Asia was thus greatly shortened, and men of later times were tempted to a voyage which otherwise might have seemed impossible. Long after his conception of a land connecting Africa and Asia was shown to be false, the tradition of a "terra australis incognita" lured them to a search which was in one sense confirmed by the discovery of an Antarctic continent, and, in another, rewarded by the finding of Australia.



The Hereford map, or picture of the world, drawn about 1280. (Reproduced from Jacobs's *The Story of Geographical Discovery* by permission of D. Appleton & Company.)

Even with this interruption and these inaccuracies, had geography, when it began to revive, based itself on Ptolemy's maps and calculations and incorporated the new knowledge gained from generation to generation, the maps of the fifteenth century would have represented Europe and consid-

Monkish geography

erable parts of Asia with tolerable correctness. But cartography, like many other branches of knowledge which came into the hands of the church after the barbarian invasions, was revived less as a science than as a curiosity. Ptolemy's map gave place to that of a circular world, bounded by a circumscribing ocean, and arranged about Jerusalem as a center according to a passage in Ezekiel, confirmed by the Psalms, "Thus saith the Lord God, this is Jerusalem, I have placed her in the midst of the peoples, and in the circuit of their lands." Paradise lay, as in Genesis, to the east. On the extreme west were the pillars of Hercules. To the northeast lay the home of the mythical Gog and Magog, shut off from Europe by the great iron gates built, according to mediæval legend, by Alexander to close the only way by which the fierce pagan tribes of Asia could pass through the mountains into Europe. Such mingled theological and fabulous conceptions, grotesquely symbolic of the school which produced them, destroyed all usefulness of maps either as travelers' guides or aids to a true conception of the world. Of these the amazing work of the Alexandrian traveler, Cosmas Indicopleustes, with its impossible reconstruction of the world from Biblical texts, was the forerunner. Thereafter their degeneration was rapid and complete. The world was sometimes represented as a T within an O; the lines indicating water—the encircling ocean, the Mediterranean, the Don, and the Nile; and the white spaces land—Europe, Asia, and Africa. Outlines of countries became formalized; natural features gave way to pictures of fabulous monsters; lands which no man had ever seen, like those of the Amazons, were set down; and to complete and adorn their work the geographers "filled the blanks with elephants for towns."

The mediæval travelers

If European knowledge of the outside world had been wholly confined to these, as even scholars long supposed, the discoveries of the fifteenth century would have been no less than miraculous. But, fortunately for mankind, geographical knowledge had not been restricted to the cloister. Independent of Ptolemy and the monkish map-makers alike, century after century, pilgrims, travelers, traders, and sailors making their way throughout Europe and into Asia, and, recording their information thus gained in chronicle, itinerary, and chart, laid, slowly but surely, a new basis of knowledge. From the time of St. Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine, who early in the fourth century journeyed to Jerusalem and there found the Sepulchre and the true cross, pilgrimages to the Holy Land became more and more frequent. Many, like Bishop Sighelm of Sherburne, Alfred's reputed emissary to Jerusalem and the shrine of St. Thomas in India, made that long journey "very prosperously, which a man would wonder at to-day—and returning home brought divers strange and precious stones—yet extant in the monuments of the church." As Christianity spread throughout the northern peoples from the fifth to the eleventh centuries the stream of pilgrims increased. This movement was at once stimulated and altered by the first crusade, which brought Jerusalem into Christian hands. Men like Adelard of Bath and Daniel of Kiev in the twelfth century returned from their travels in the Eastern Empire and among the Arabs with information even more precious than the jewels of Sighelm. Nor was it crusaders only who brought the armed power of Europe into touch with the infidel. Norse sea-rovers found their way across Russia to the Black Sea or around Spain into the Mediterranean to fight the Saracen. Adventurers, like Godric the English pirate, and like Sigurd of Norway and Edgar Etheling, who successively plundered the Moorish stronghold of Lisbon, at once narrowed the Mohammedan power and widened the knowledge of Christendom. Nor was interest and activity in the world outside of Europe confined to the East even in the earlier centuries. Before the first crusade, the Norsemen had discovered and settled Iceland and Greenland and even reached the eastern coast of North America; and Alfred had recorded in his translation of Orosius the reports of those stout captains, Othere and Wulfstan, who "dwelt northermost of all men," concerning their voyages to the north and east, to the furthest land of the Finns.

Early pilgrims

and adventurers

Yet it was, after all, the East which chiefly inspired an interest stimulated alike by religion, trade, and curiosity. Strange stories of unknown Christian lands, of unnatural monsters, of amazing sights, of incredible wealth, attracted men no less, perhaps even more, than the sober truth with which they were inextricably mingled. As the Crusades went on, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, the near East became as well known as most parts of Europe; and at the beginning of the thirteenth century a new series of extraordinary and unexpected events, unconnected with European history, for a time opened the farther East to European curiosity and enterprise. These were the conquests of the Tartars under the leadership of Jenghiz Khan and his successors. They fought with every people from Germany to China. They even prepared an armada against Japan; and their empire embraced the vast territory stretching from the Pacific to the Dnieper and later extended to Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor.

The Tartar conquests

1206-27

The nations of Europe were terrified at this advance, which many believed to be the irruption of the nations of Gog and Magog through the gates of Alexander that had so long confined them. But the Tartar conquests ceased with the occupation of the great steppes north of the Black Sea, and their power, once established, proved by no means hostile to western Europeans. On the contrary, it broke down many of the barriers to travel raised by the hostility of lesser tribes, and, once inside its far-reaching borders, the traveler found his journey was relatively easy and safe to the uttermost parts of Asia. At the same time the Tartars, not being Mohammedans, and inspired by no such crusading zeal as later fired the Turks, who were set on their long march ending at the Danube by this very Mongol invasion, even sought Christian missionaries from the west. Moreover, "just at the time when God sent forth into the Eastern parts of the world the Tartars to slay and to be slain, He also sent into the West His faithful and blessed servants, Dominic and Francis, to enlighten, instruct, and build up in the faith," through the great orders which they founded and which bear their names.

The missionaries

With these two circumstances the relations between the farther East and the West were completely altered. In particular the Franciscans took up the work of opening communication with the Mongols. About the middle of the thirteenth century, Friar John of Planocarpini had been sent to Tartary as an emissary of Innocent IV to the Great Khan, and brought back news of Kitai, Cathay, or China. Ten years later Friar John of Rubruquis, or Ruysbroek, went on a similar mission from Louis IX of France, and returned with news of Cipango, or Japan. Some missionaries settled in Tartary; a few found their way to China; and one, John of Montecorvino, even became famous as the so-called bishop of Pekin. Others had sought India, where the shrine of St. Thomas and a body of Nestorian Christians had long attracted pilgrims. In the first quarter of the fourteenth century, a certain Friar Odoric of Pordenone set out for China by way of India, Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and Cochin-China, and returned by way of Thibet, perhaps visiting Lhassa, accompanied part of the time by an Irish friar, James.

1245

1318

Some twenty years later, in response to an embassy from the "Khan of China," Benedict XII sent a mission under Giovanni de Marignolli, who crossed Asia to Pekin and thence, after some years, returned by much the same way Odoric had gone. In central Asia and in India these travelers saw relics not only of an older Nestorian Christianity but of martyred missionaries who had preceded them. In western Asia and in China, Odoric found houses of his own order. In India Marignolli visited the church founded at Quilon by Jordanus of Severac, consecrated bishop of Columbum. Everywhere Franciscan missionary enterprise was discovered actively at work, and everywhere were traces of those who were still busy with conversion, or those unnamed martyrs who "seeking Cathay found Heaven."

Prester John

Thus while Christian and Mohammedan strove for supremacy in the Levant, far beyond that conflict the church was endeavoring to plant its faith in more distant fields by peaceful means. For many who sought those lands, interest was stimulated by one of the most striking legends which ever lured men to the unknown. This was the story of Prester John, a Christian potentate and priest, endowed by tradition with a kingdom whose location varied from the Mountains of the Moon to the Himalayas or beyond. The fable originated probably in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and was apparently compounded from the actual existence of such Christian communities as Abyssinia and the Indian Nestorians, and the more or less mythical kingdom of Karakorum. Confused with the exploits of Jenghiz Khan, and magnified by time, distance, and repetition, it was strengthened by the appearance of letters purporting to have been written by Prester John to his fellow Christian rulers of the West. The story defied the changes of time and circumstance. Thirty years after the fall of Constantinople a Portuguese king sending emissaries to the East gave them letters to this fabled potentate who, however short-lived and shadowy his real existence, for three hundred years dominated the imagination of Europe.

The merchants

Yet, with all their great services, the missionaries had made less permanent contributions to knowledge and connection with Asia than the traders who followed in their wake. The recharting of the Mediterranean and the revival of the road-maps or itineraries of Europe began very shortly after the barbarian conquests; indeed it is probable that such practical knowledge suffered less interruption than most kinds of learning. With pilgrimages, commercial enterprise, and Crusades strengthening relations with the near East and among the various nations of Europe, this information had been gradually enlarged and recorded, and was further reinforced by contact with the Arabs. Adventurous European merchants found their way past the western barriers of heathendom and, like the missionaries, brought back information as precious as the fruits of their trading. Though, as with trade secrets of to-day, such information was guarded jealously enough, there is no doubt that some, at least, of the merchant princes of northern Italy possessed road-maps and itineraries, word-books and tables of comparative money values, with similar material useful to the traveler from Florence to Pekin.

The trade-routes

Beside those far-reaching systems of exchange which north Italian merchants established across the plains of central Asia, with China and intermediate trading centers like Bokhara and Samarcand, other lines of commerce ran to the south and east. From Venice and Genoa, from Marseilles and lesser ports, the vessels plied to those cities which fringed the eastern Mediterranean. And these, from Alexandria through Beirut and Smyrna to Constantinople, formed the outlet of caravan routes which brought hither the products of India and even more distant lands. From Alexandria across to Suez, or up the Nile and so over the desert to Suakin or Massowah, or still further south, the camels bore their loads to the ships which from those ports made their way past Aden into the Indian Ocean and so to the trading centers of the Malabar coast of India. From Beirut through Damascus to Bagdad, and so to Bassorah and the Persian Gulf, thence by vessel past Ormuz and again to India ran another of the great caravan routes. Or if by land, the traders from Bagdad pushed on to Kermanshah across Persia through Teheran or Ispahan and so through Afghanistan or Baluchistan again to India; while from those distant points still other ways led through northern Asia Minor to Smyrna or Constantinople. From the rich trading cities of India's western or Malabar coast, ships made their way to the still farther east, Java, Sumatra, the Spice Islands, to China itself, in this long, slender chain of trade which bound the East and West.

It was, indeed, inevitable that the length and hardships of such a precarious commerce should confine exchange to the most precious and easily portable goods; it was no less inevitable that profits must be in proportion to distance and risk; and it followed, in consequence, that to European eyes the East appeared a land of illimitable resources; that these remote caravan centers of unfamiliar name and rare products should seem dream cities of unimagined wealth, full of romance and rich in opportunity. Thus early arose the legend of Asia's fabulous, incalculable treasures which fired Europe's adventurous spirit in later years to high emprise. Thus inspired, however slowly and however carefully guarded, knowledge of the East and the ways thither grew insensibly with the years, and with it an ever-increasing desire to share "the wealth of the Indies."

Marco Polo

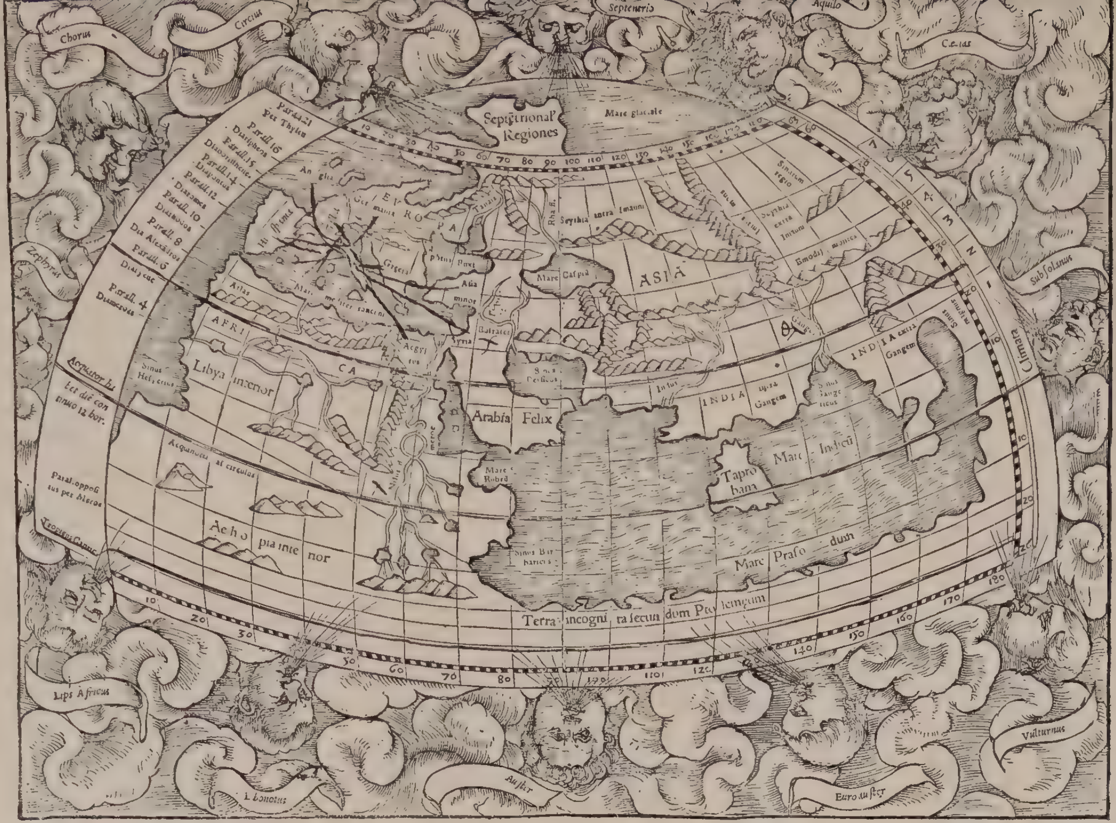
1254-1324

How considerable was this knowledge by the end of the thirteenth century is revealed in the story which the greatest of these adventurers has left us. This was Marco Polo, the Venetian, whose account of his travels marked the greatest advance in geographical knowledge since Ptolemy, and became the inspiration of like adventurous spirits for centuries. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, Polo's two uncles, embarking on a trading venture, made their way to Constantinople, thence to the Crimea, so to Bokhara, and finally to the capital of the Great Khan, then somewhere south and east of Lake Baikal. Returning after nine years of wandering, they brought to the Pope a request from the Khan for a hundred missionaries to teach and convert his people. This, probably the earliest and greatest opportunity ever offered the church to win the East, was neglected. After two years at home, the Polos left again for Tartary, traveling this time by way of Ormuz, Khorassan, the Oxus, Pamir, Gobi, and Kaipingfu.

They took with them the young Marco, who attracted the attention of the Khan and entered his service. For twenty years, as counselor and diplomat, he served the Tartar prince, traveling on missions of state throughout the greater part of Asia, till, wearying of his employment, he returned to Venice toward the close of the thirteenth century. Within three years after his return he was taken prisoner while

1298

commanding a vessel in the war then going on between Venice and Genoa. He was thrown into prison, where one of his fellow-captives, a certain Rusticiano of Pisa, wrote out in French from dictation the Venetian's extraordinary narrative, which thus—by means scarcely less extraordinary than the author's own adventures—found its way to the knowledge of western Europe to enlighten and stimulate its



This map, entitled *Typus Orbis a Ptol. Descriptus*—the world according to Ptolemy—from an edition of Ptolemy published at Basel in 1540, represents the type of map inherited from Greek geography as re-drawn in the 16th century. It is especially interesting on account of the insertion of lines—apparently by the hand of its 16th century owner—of the trade-routes.

interest in the East. Its success bred imitators, among which that genial and accomplished book of marvels composed by the most eminent of fireside adventurers except the Baron Munchausen, Sir John Mandeville, was perhaps the most popular. Under such impulse of fact and fiction, missionary enterprise, and especially commercial activity, was directed more and more toward the fabulously rich land of wonders, from whose abundance the Venetian had brought back enough to give him the name of Messer Millione.

Mediæval knowledge of the Atlantic

Though interest in the West, meanwhile, lacked the powerful religious motive, and the prospect of as great wealth as that to be won from India or China, the fascination of the unknown was as strong in the western seas as in those of the east, and the profits not to be despised. Aside from the Norse settlements in Greenland, it is probable that the hardy fishermen of western Europe early found their way to the Newfoundland banks, though their knowledge of those happy fishing grounds was long kept a secret for the same reasons that led men to conceal what they knew of the way to the East.

But whatever the West lacked in trade it made up in legends. Somewhere in the north Atlantic floated the moving island of St. Brandan. Since the days of Plato and Aristophanes men had dreamed of the island-continent of Atlantis, somewhere to the west of Africa, which had transmitted its civilization to the western world and sunk into the ocean which bore its name. Somewhere, far to the west of the Fortunate Isles, lay the fabled island of Antilla and of the Seven Cities, seats of wealth and culture, rich in the lodestone of exploration, gold. Moreover, men were said to have visited this western world. Sometime in the twelfth century, the Welsh prince, Madoc, driven from home by civil war, had found refuge there, returned with his wonderful news, and sailed again, with many of his countrymen, to the new land. The Italian brothers Zeni, visiting the king of the Faroe or Shetland Islands, had found their way, under his direction, to transatlantic lands, rich, well-peopled, highly civilized, and had returned to tell the story. Most probable of all, the

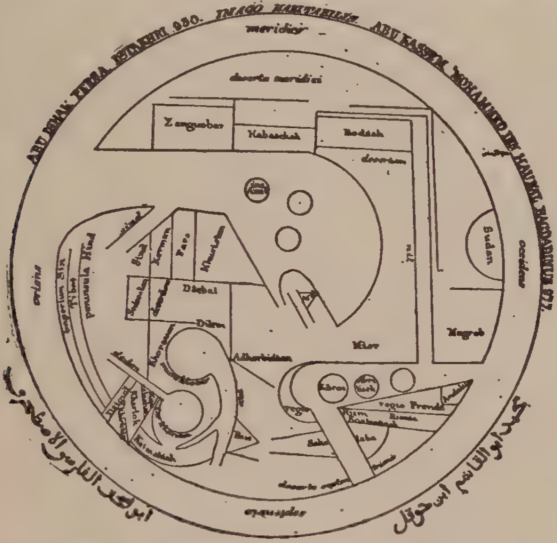
Icelandic sagas told of Leif Erickson and the discovery, perhaps the settlement, of Vinland the Good.

Improvements in navigation

But more than all the legends of east and west, even more than the travels of traders or missionaries, the improvement in the art of navigation was developing the new geography. The greatest problem of ancient and mediæval sailors had been the difficulty of laying a fixed course through the open sea, out of sight of land. They could, it is true, use the sun or the north star in clear weather, but in cloudy seasons they were obliged to stay in touch with coast or island, or rely on pure good fortune. At least as early as the twelfth century, however, there had come into use a rude form of compass, a magnetic needle floating in a straw on water. This, first looked on as witchcraft, was gradually emancipated from the fear of the supernatural and improved. By the fourteenth century it took the form of a needle suspended by a pivot fixed upon a card which indicated the points of the compass. This device revolutionized not merely navigation but map-making as well, for it enabled cartographers to indicate the direction of coast lines, rivers, and roads, and the position of countries, cities, and natural features with respect to each other more exactly than had previously been possible. Beside this the seamen used a rude contrivance, the cross-staff, to measure altitudes; and, during the fifteenth century a more accurate instrument, the astrolabe, came into general use for the same purpose. As these were slowly supplemented by other aids derived from astronomical mathematics, tables of the sun's declination, and devices for measuring time, the scope and safety of navigation were greatly increased.

The Arabs

Not a little of this knowledge was derived from the Arabs, among whom geographical knowledge had suffered something of the same fate as among Europeans, though modified by the peculiarly scientific spirit which characterized their intellectual advance. Their superstition, indeed, evolved wild legends of the western ocean, the Green Sea of Night, peopled with fearful moving monsters of rock, where the hand of Satan was depicted rising from the waves to seize the sacrilegious intruder; of the southern lands where the sun beat down with such fury as to make human life impossible, where rivers ran boiling water, and where was to be found that huge bird, the roc, capable of bearing two elephants in its claws. But the Arabian Nights' legend of the mountain of lodestone which drew the iron from vessels that approached it too closely and drowned their passengers did not prevent the Arabs from using bits of such metal to guide their ships. Their knowledge of the stars derived from their long desert existence was not so wedded to astrology that they could not draw from it a scientific and practical astronomy, and use the same art to direct their vessels by sea that they had long employed in their voyages across the no less trackless sands.



The World according to Ibn Haukal, 977.

This "map," or diagram, has the south at the top. (Reproduced from Jacobs's *The Story of Geographical Discovery*, Appleton).

Moreover, situated as they were between East and West and North and South, they enjoyed unrivaled opportunities as middlemen in the great carrying trade between Europe, Asia, and Africa. By caravan and fleet, therefore, they became the great intermediaries between India, Persia, and the Levant, the Soudan and the Sahara and southern Europe. Damascus, Bagdad, and especially Alexandria, became great centers of eastern trade, and it was largely from them that not merely goods but the ideas of the tropical world, East and West, with improved aids to navigation, came into Europe. Here, too, the south-Europeans were first to profit. As early as the middle of the twelfth century, the most eminent of Arab geographers, Edrisi of Sicily, completed his great geography under the patronage of the Norman king, Roger II, and from that time Arab influence was strong in those south-European regions where commerce most flourished. Nor was that connection so greatly affected by the Crusades as one might suppose. The greatest of those wars seldom checked it for long, and, apart from the actual scene of conflict or the actual powers involved, commerce seems to have gone on much as usual. Moreover, profit not seldom triumphed over faith. In most north African ports Italian houses had their factories, and, at times, as in a famous incident at Ceuta when the men of Genoa aided the Saracens in beating off a crusading fleet, Christian and infidel trader even joined forces against religious enthusiasts.

1234

Maps and charts

Thus, in the interests of commerce, sailors gained knowledge on every hand; and this knowledge, their stock in trade, they embodied in charts of the coasts they traversed, plotting the Mediterranean world in *portulani,* or port-guides, which grew steadily from generation to generation in extent and accuracy. In the last half of the thirteenth century appeared a famous product of this activity. This was the so-called Catalan map which at once summed up preceding knowledge of the Mediterranean world and became the model for later *portulani.* Such an influence once established gradually found its way into more formal scientific geography. Before the middle of the fourteenth century Angelico Dulcert of Majorca produced a map of the world, modeled on the *portulani,* which delineated the Mediterranean coast line with almost modern exactness. Some thirty-five years later another Majorcan, Cresquez, added to this the knowledge of the further East contributed by Marco Polo. With such innovations, geography, associating itself with discovery, and presently with astronomy, began again to assume an aspect

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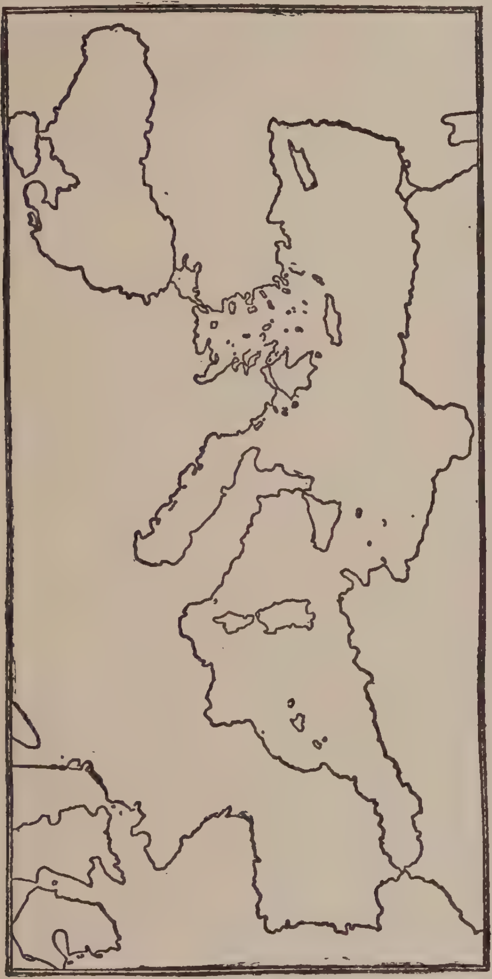
1375

at once accurate and scientific; and though as yet the question of the earth's sphericity had not come into the realm of practical affairs, its consideration could not long be delayed.



The Mediterranean coast in the Portulano of Dulcert, 1339; adapted from Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile Atlas*, p. 31.

This sketch map, re-drawn from the Dulcert Portulano, indicates the correctness of the mariners' charts in comparison with the formalized pictures of the world of the mediæval monkish maps, like the Hereford map, p. 67. It will be observed that though strikingly accurate in the central and southern portion, its author's knowledge of northern Britain and Ireland was extremely limited. (Reproduced from Jacobs's *The Story of Geographical Discovery* by permission of D. Appleton & Company.)

Astronomy

While seamen and geographers were busy plotting the known world for practical purposes, men of science, appealing to classical and to Arabian knowledge of the skies, were busily engaged in rescuing astronomy from the astrological absurdities into which it had fallen; and were transforming the study of the stars from prophecy and divination into a mathematical science. Not until the seventeenth century was the Copernican system to be widely known, and until it was fairly adopted mediæval ideas of the universe cannot be said to have been overthrown; but by the middle of the fifteenth century many of its fondest traditions had been shattered and the way opened for a truer conception of a new heaven and a new earth. Thus at the very moment when Europe, divided against itself in political affairs, weak and open to attack, had lost no small part of its territory to Asia and seemed about to lose still more, the revival of its intellectual forces, which were to renew its power and increase its capacity at once for progress and for offensive action, was reaching its culmination.

The Turkish conquest and the decline of Italian commerce

The direction which it took was in some measure due to the very successes of the Turks themselves. As long as the Tartar empire endured and the Arabs held the ways to southern Asia, the trade-currents ran in the old lines unaltered. But the Turks were little more than fighters. Where they went intellectual life virtually disappeared, and commerce, though it went on, never attained the proportions it had enjoyed under the Byzantine Empire. Their capture of Constantinople practically closed one door to the East. And their ensuing conquests by land and sea, thanks to the almost constant state of war which their activities introduced into the Mediterranean world, even more than their own uncommercial spirit, erected further barriers between Europe and Asia till little beside Egypt was left open as a means of communication. One by one the outposts of Venice and Genoa fell into their hands; and though both these proud cities contended against them, it was, amid the rivalries at home, a losing fight.

The early, unquestioned leadership in commerce, education, finance, and the intellectual renaissance had been held by Italy. But, in the face of changing conditions, it became evident on the fall of Constantinople that, whatever the fruits of the new movement in geography and exploration, whatever the solution of the difficulties now raised, the rewards were not for those cities which had so long held the commercial pre-eminence of Europe. Their supremacy was doomed, and the splendid energies which had raised them to such heights were worn out in a vain struggle against the inevitable, or diverted to other channels. North as well as south, the day of the commercial city state and the trading-league was passing, and with their decline went the predominance of Italy and the Mediterranean in European commerce and politics. Their place was taken by other kinds of organization, the national state and the various forms of trading enterprise which rose on the extinction of the older order. Among these one in particular had already made a beginning in the movement which was to revolutionize the world. The state which was to lead the way to the political and commercial expansion of Europe, as Italy was to lead to a new era of intellectual advance, was not Venice nor Genoa, but Portugal.

Conclusion

The fall of Constantinople was the crisis which accentuated the passing of the old order; but nearly forty years before that great catastrophe a series of no less important though less spectacular events had already ushered in the new. From Italy had begun that exploration into the mysteries of the classical civilization which had done much to stir an interest in matters but little touched in the prevailing ecclesiasticism of intellectual Europe. From the Iberian peninsula had come an impulse toward the expansion of European power and knowledge into the no less mysterious domains which, beginning just across the strait of Gibraltar, stretched far beyond the knowledge of the Roman world, or the imagination of the middle ages. Into these almost equally remote and uncharted regions adventurous scholars and warriors, of different nations, of widely different aims, and as yet wholly unknown to each other, had begun to penetrate. From these two streams of influence, scholarship and exploration, which, rising from widely separated sources, tended unconsciously to join, was to spring that full tide of progress which was to revive all European activity.

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNINGS OF TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

The Age of Discovery. 1415-1498

The Spanish peninsula

700-1400

WHATEVER its relation to the other movements in continental affairs, nowhere in Europe was the development of what we have come to know as national states during the fifteenth century more active than in the Spanish peninsula, and nowhere were its results earlier apparent. Every phase of that development had long been conditioned by the presence of an alien race. Seven hundred years earlier, Mohammedan power had swept across the straits of Gibraltar, whose name, Jebir al Tarik, still perpetuates that of its Arab leader; had overwhelmed the Visigothic kingdom in Spain, passed the Pyrenees, and penetrated to the Loire before it broke on Frankish resistance. Before that power it had receded again into the peninsula. But seven centuries of crusading warfare waged against it by those Christian states which survived its first onset in the mountains of the north and west had reduced its possessions to the little principality of Granada in the extreme south, and even this was hard pressed by its rivals.

c. 1253

These states meanwhile had risen to the rank of petty kingdoms. Navarre had not greatly altered its size and condition. But Aragon had extended her sway to the Ebro and the sea, to the islands and even to southern Italy; while Castile, uniting with Leon, had wrested the central plateau of Spain from the Moslem. And, on the west, the little duchy of Oporto, joining her conquests south of the Tagus to her older possessions, had formed the kingdom of Portugal. In all of these the long struggle with the infidel had not merely modified social, economic, and political conditions. It had inspired the people with a crusading zeal which profoundly affected national character. Proud, chivalrous, and adventurous, it was often heroic, sometimes fantastic, but always a force to be reckoned with in peace or war.

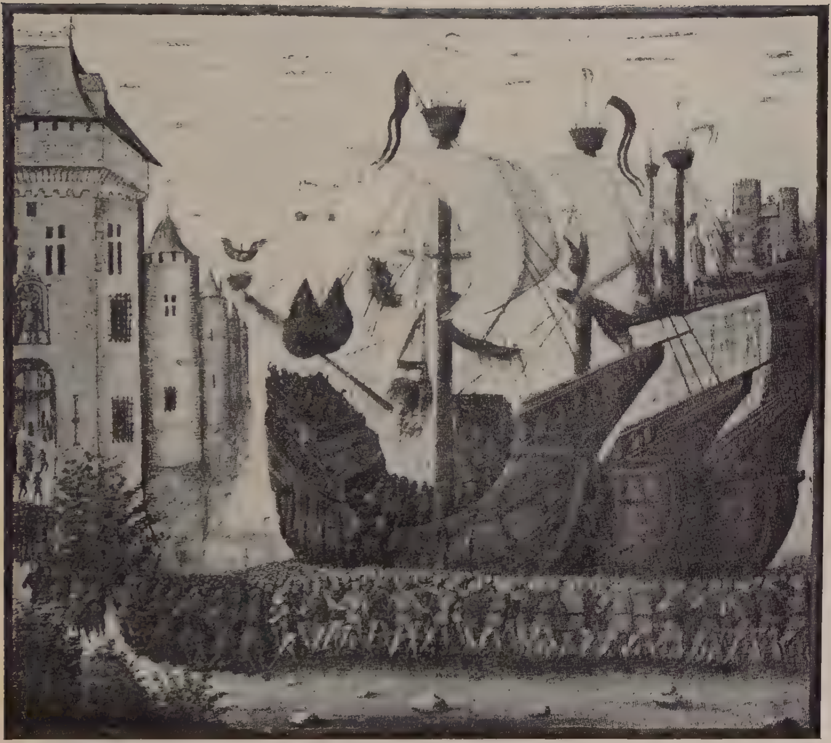
Portugal Alone among the states of the peninsula at the beginning of the fifteenth century, Portugal had reached her final bounds and status. These were, indeed, not great. Small, poor, sparsely populated, worn with wars, she was cut off from continental Europe and hope of expansion on land by her powerful rival, Castile, against whom she maintained even her independence with difficulty. However well adapted to defense, her small and broken territory offered no great advantages to the furtherance of national unity or wealth. Her swift and turbulent rivers afforded scant communication with the interior, and their narrow valleys, which formed the greater part of the habitable land, were separated by mountain ranges and susceptible of cultivation on a large scale only in their lower reaches. Agriculture, thus restricted by nature, was still further hampered by the fact that the great estates of crown, nobility, the church, and the powerful military order of the Knights of Christ, had not merely checked the increase of small holdings, but were themselves not greatly productive. Moreover, Portugal's manufactures were almost negligible and her native products inconsiderable. By sea she was of more consequence; for her fisheries were of some importance, and of her half-dozen harbors, the best, that of her chief city, Lisbon, was a much frequented port of call and exchange between the Mediterranean and northern Europe. Her commerce, though not of first-rate importance, was far-reaching; and, with her navy, brought her in touch with other sea-going peoples, especially those of Genoa, England, and Flanders.

To this she owed much. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the Genoese, Emmanuel Pessanha, had organized Portugal's navy, the "mother city of seamen" had been relied on to officer its ships. Portuguese indebtedness to England was even greater and of longer standing. As early as the middle of the twelfth century, English forces had helped to take Lisbon from the Moors, and two hundred 1317 and forty years later the long series of treaties which had ensued between the two countries was crowned by the marriage of the Portuguese king, John I, with Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt and sister of him who was to ascend the English throne as Henry IV. With the aid resulting from that alliance, Portugal had finally repelled Castilian aggression and was now prepared to enter the most glorious period of her history. When, in the course of that splendid career, the Atlantic islands came into her hands, no small part of their original population was drawn from the Netherlands, whose ruler, the Duke of Burgundy, had married the daughter of John and Philippa. 1387

The capture of Ceuta

Thus conditioned by circumstances, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the ambitious energy of her king, relieved from the menace of Castilian aggression, found no outlet for its energies but the sea and the Moors. There, at least, opportunity was always at hand. Though long since driven from Portuguese territory to its strongholds across the straits, Arzilla, Tangier, and especially Ceuta, "the key of all the Mediterranean sea," Arab power had remained a menace to Portuguese coasts and commerce and a support to the Moorish kingdom of Granada. This was now to be the scene of one of the world's most momentous exploits. 1415

The sons of King John were come of knightly age, and this circumstance was seized upon as the opportunity for the great adventure. Instead of the costly and useless tournaments incident to the ceremony of their knighting, the king was persuaded to undertake a real warlike expedition into Africa; and to this end he summoned his subjects to a new crusade against the Moors. Preparations were made on a scale commensurate with the greatness of the exploit. Adventurers of all nations flocked to his standard to share the glory and the spoil; and in July, 1415, at the same moment that his English cousin prepared that enterprise which culminated in his victory of Agincourt, the great armada, a hundred ships and eighty thousand men, according to report, sailed forth to the conquest of Ceuta, blessed by the dying prayers of the heroic queen. Investing the city with this



The Embarkation of Troops.

From a manuscript miniature of 1488. The ships, architecture, and costume of the period are particularly noteworthy. Cp. picture of the carrack, p. 160, and of the Armada, p. 334. From Bourel de la Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine Française.*

overwhelming force, the king, like his royal English kinsman at Crécy, seventy years before, left the burden and the glory of the conflict to his sons. One day's fierce fighting gave the place into their hands; the governor fled, the castle surrendered, and the political expansion of Europe had begun.

Not because it was a novel conception or a great catastrophe, but because it gave fresh direction and impetus to a far-reaching movement, the fall of Ceuta marks a turning-point in human affairs. It was, in the inception of the exploit, the echo of a feudalism already on the wane in many parts of the continent. In its execution it was but carrying across the strait that long conflict with the Moorish power which had absorbed the energies of Portugal for centuries and still vexed the other states of the peninsula on their own borders. But, in a larger view, it was the connecting link between the older crusading movement which sought to win back Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher from the infidel, and the modern conception of winning the world for commerce and for Christianity. Not the least of its claims to importance is that it brought forth the first great figure in that far-spreading movement whose direction he was so largely to determine—the young prince Henry, third son of John and Philippa, then some twenty years of age. To him the capture of Ceuta had been chiefly due, and, knighted with his brothers for his share in this feat of arms, he was presently made governor of the new conquest as well as of the southernmost Portuguese district of the Algarve, and created grand master of the crusading Order of Christ.

Prince Henry the Navigator

1394-1460

These circumstances inspired him with a great design. At that time the southernmost point known to Europeans was Cape Bojador on the West African coast; beyond it, as in all northern Africa, trade and knowledge of the land was in Arab hands. There ran what was supposed to be the western branch of the Nile, the Senegal, by which, it was thought, a way could be found to the East and its unknown Christian peoples, even to the fabled kingdom of Prester John. Once past the cape, rich trade might be secured, Mohammedan power attacked in flank and rear, with the aid of Eastern Christendom; and, lastly, "was his great desire to make increase in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to bring to Him all the souls that should be saved." Thus the young prince dreamed of a greater crusade and a greater Portugal. In this faith he took upon himself a task that grew under his hand; till, for near fifty years after King John's great expedition, the history of European expansion is little more than the story of the Prince's life.

The progress of his enterprise was sure if not rapid. Ceuta secured against recapture, information was gathered there of the lands beyond; map-makers and mathematicians were employed to collect, organize, and formulate geographical and astronomical knowledge. To combat the heavier seas and currents of the Atlantic, so difficult for the Mediterranean galleys, the building of larger and stronger square- or lateen-rigged, sail-driven ships, which developed into the famous caravels, was encouraged. To lay a course through fog and dark and unknown seas, independent of headlands and uncharted coasts, various aids to navigation were introduced and improved; especially devices to measure time and distance, to reckon latitude and longitude, and to determine location and direction. The university of Lisbon and Coimbra was strengthened; new ports were projected for the anticipated needs of the enterprise; commerce was stimulated and discovery encouraged by promise of reward. And, on the southwesterly point of Portugal, at Sagres, the Sacred Cape, where, seven centuries before, Christians fleeing before the c. 1435 fury of Mohammedan invasion had borne and buried the body of the holy St. Vincent, were built a study, an observatory, and a chapel. There the Prince planned a city to rival Cadiz, the Villa do Iffante, and thence he directed his counterstroke against the Moslem, his crusade against the infidel and the unknown. Year by year he sent out ships to find their way down the African coast and across to the islands, charting the way for merchants who would "never trouble themselves to go to a place where there is not a sure and certain hope of profit"; striving to learn "determinatively how far the power of those infidels extended," for the glory of God and the profit of Portugal.

Prince Henry the Navigator was not, indeed, the first to **Portuguese**
dream of African exploitation. From ancient times most **advance**
of the islands toward which his early ventures were directed **in Africa**
had been found and lost and found again. A dozen years **and the**
before the capture of Ceuta, a Norman knight, Jean de **Atlantic**
Bethencourt, under Spanish authority, had seized a group **—the**
whose Roman name, Canaria, Isles of the Dogs, witnessed **Canaries**
how long they had been known to Europeans. Since Ptolemy **1400-04**
had laid down the Fortunate Isles on his map, many had
found their way thither. A century and a third before
de Bethencourt, the Genoese, Malocello, had discovered and
given his name to one of the group. Seventy years later
the Pope had granted them to a Spaniard, Don Luis of **1341**
Talmond; and, at almost the same time, an expedition from
Portugal had reached and claimed them for that power.
When Prince Henry's work began, their title had long been
in dispute; and the controversy, complicated by Bethencourt's
nephew, who sold his claims to both powers, dragged
on for nearly a century before it was finally determined in **1495**
favor of Spain.

But, though anticipated here, Prince Henry was more **The**
fortunate in other quarters of the same field. Scarcely had **Madeiras**
he entered on his work when his captains, John Gonsalvez
Zarco and Tristan Vaz Texeira, came upon a group of uninhabited **1418-19**
islands north of the Canaries. One, where they found refuge from shipwreck, they called Porto Santo; another, Deserta; the third and largest, which gave name to the group, Madeira, or Isle of Woods, from the forests which covered it. Seventy years before, the story runs, two lovers, Robert Machin and Anne d'Arset, or Dorset, eloping from Bristol, had been cast ashore here and perished. Their sailors escaping to Africa and Arab slavery, Zarco is said to have first learned of the islands from the pilot, whom he captured as that ancient mariner was returning to Seville from his long imprisonment. The story is not probable, but the reality is scarcely less romantic. Granted to Prince Henry

by the crown, and regranted by him to the discoverers, the spiritualities of the new territories were decreed to the Order of Christ, and the produce, when the demands of church and state were satisfied, divided equally between the prospective owners and cultivators. To Zarco was given northern Madeira, centering in Machico, whose name romance derived from Machin; Funchal and the south, with Deserta, to Texeira. And Porto Santo was conferred on a certain Bartholomew Perestrello, whose daughter, in later years, became the wife of a Genoese adventurer, one Christopher Columbus, of much fame thereafter.

The Azores

Such were the beginnings of colonial grants, and under their terms exploitation rapidly advanced. Settlers were secured, the forests were destroyed, and the land set in vineyards and sugar plantations. The Malvoisie grape, presently introduced from Crete, produced a famous wine, which took its name from the islands, Madeira; and this, with wood for furniture and houses, honey and sugar, made up the staples of the colony. So great was the success of this the first and for many years the greatest of European settlements outside the continent, that within thirty years its population numbered eight hundred souls. Encouraged by
1427
such development, in no long time the Azores, or Islands of the Hawks, like their fellows long known and long neglected, were brought, by the Prince's efforts, permanently within the circle of European influence. Of these but one, Graciosa, was colonized by his own countrymen. The rest were settled from the Netherlands, as Josua of Bruges in Terceira, van der Haagen in Flores and Corvo, and Job van Heurter in Fayal, planted settlements, which long gave to the group the name of the Flemish Islands.

The Guinea coast

But the energy of the Portuguese was far from exhausting itself on the islands. From the first the continent had claimed their attention. There, as in the Atlantic, they could scarcely be regarded as pioneers; for as early as the thirteenth century the great Genoese houses of Doria and Vivaldi had sent their galleys down the west-African coast seeking fresh fields of trade, at least as far as Cape Non; and, long before Prince that group from Castile. With the accession of the Prince's nephew to the throne as Alfonso V, the crusade against the north African Moors was resumed, and in the year after the fall of Constantinople Prince Henry's monopoly was fortified by a Papal bull forbidding any Christian to trade in the territory between Cape Non and the Guinea coast without Portuguese license. The Venetian, Ca da Mosta, voyaging a few years later through the new possessions, has left a vivid picture of the vigor and success of this colonial empire in the making. Everywhere he found the evidences of its strength and activity, and the promise of its rapid development: the sea dotted with its ships, the islands and the mainland held by its settlements and trading posts, and its promoters filled with the hopes and ambitions of a new society. 1454

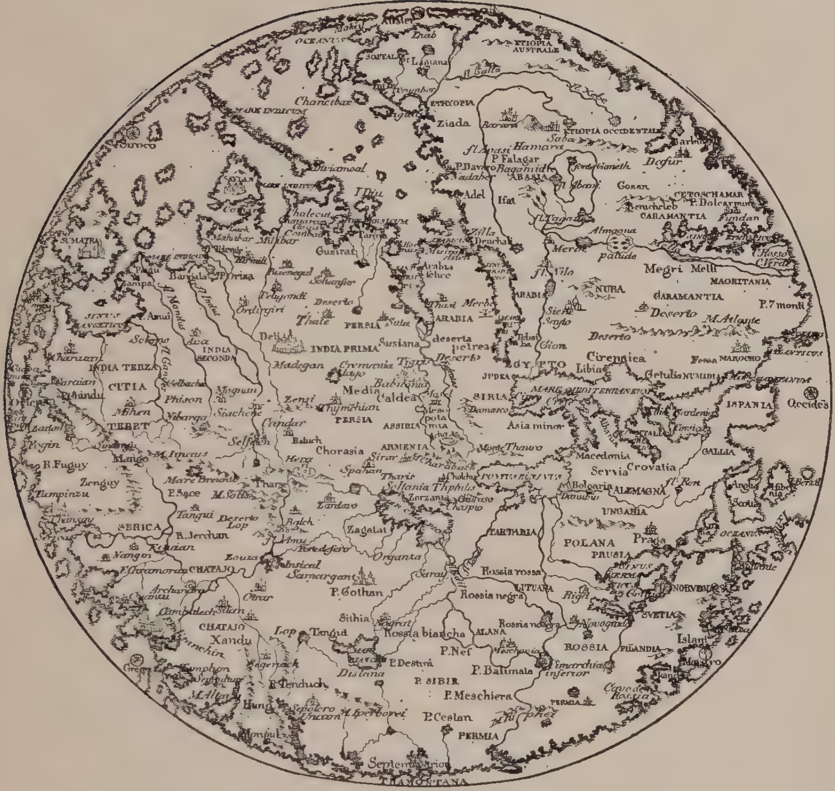
The way about Africa

Already the purpose and character of the movement was changing. Close in the Venetian's wake sailed the Prince's captain, Diego Gomez, commissioned to explore the Cape Verde Islands, sighted some fifteen years earlier by the brothers Noli; and instructed, besides, to secure information of the gold-producing lands to the eastward in Africa, above all, of a sea-way to India. For, with the success in exploiting the islands and the west coast trade, the dream of Atlantic and African expansion had inevitably widened into the design of reaching Asia around Africa. That crowning achievement of his long career Prince Henry was not to see, for before the results of Gomez' mission were available his master was dead. 1460 The aim of the Portuguese hero's lifework, begun and carried on in the spirit of his motto, "resolve to do greatly," is fitly summed up in his epitaph, which records how he labored "that he might lay open the regions of western Africa across the sea hitherto impossible to men, and sail around Africa to the remotest shores of the East." And though this last statement was rather a prophecy and a hope than an achievement of his life; though the splendid map of Fra Mauro, which records his additions to European knowledge, shows no sea-way to Asia yet traveled by men of his generation; that discovery was none the less the chief result of his activities. Crusader, scientist, statesman, Prince Henry laid the foundations of an empire, and pointed the way to further greatness, determining the future, not of his country alone, but of the world.

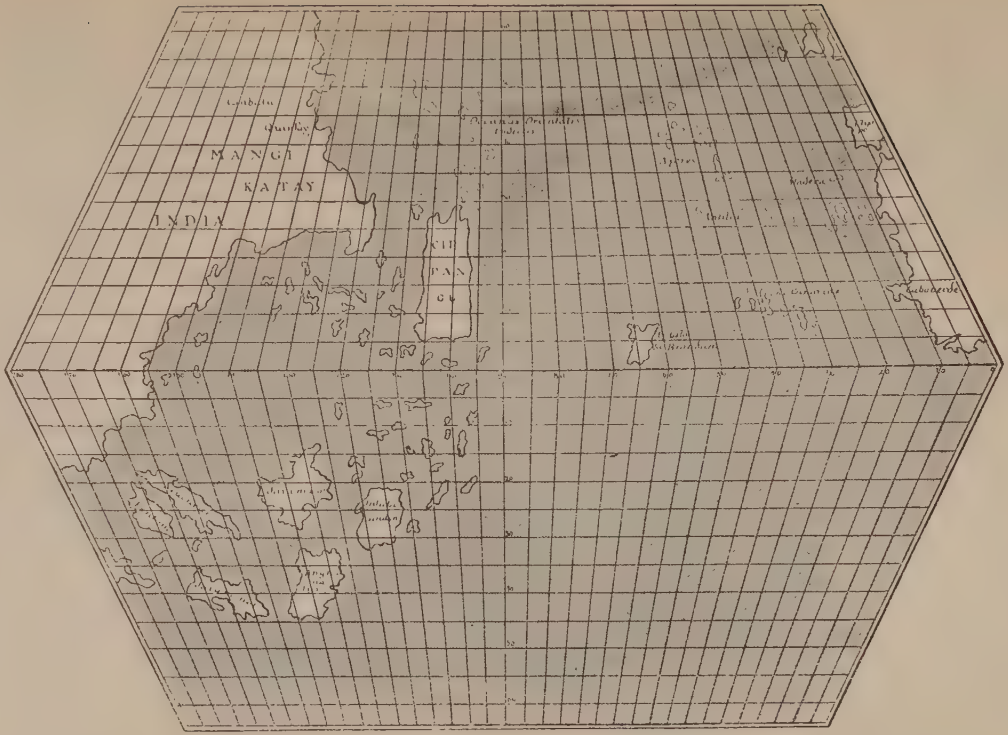
Scarcely interrupted by his death, the Portuguese pressed to the accomplishment of his designs. From Arguin, strengthened into a fortress, successive expeditions reached Sierra Leone and the Bight of Benin. The Guinea trade was farmed on terms which compelled the exploration of five hundred leagues of coast southward; and, nearer home, after eight years of effort, Portuguese power in northwestern Africa was secured by the capture of Arzilla and Tangiers. At the same time Fernando Po reached the island which still bears his name, while Estravos and Santarem passed the Equator. With these achievements the way to the East seemed almost in sight; but again further progress was interrupted by renewed war with Castile, and still more by the lack of aids to navigation in the southern hemisphere with its strange constellations, and these for a time checked the Portuguese advance.

The Cape of Good Hope

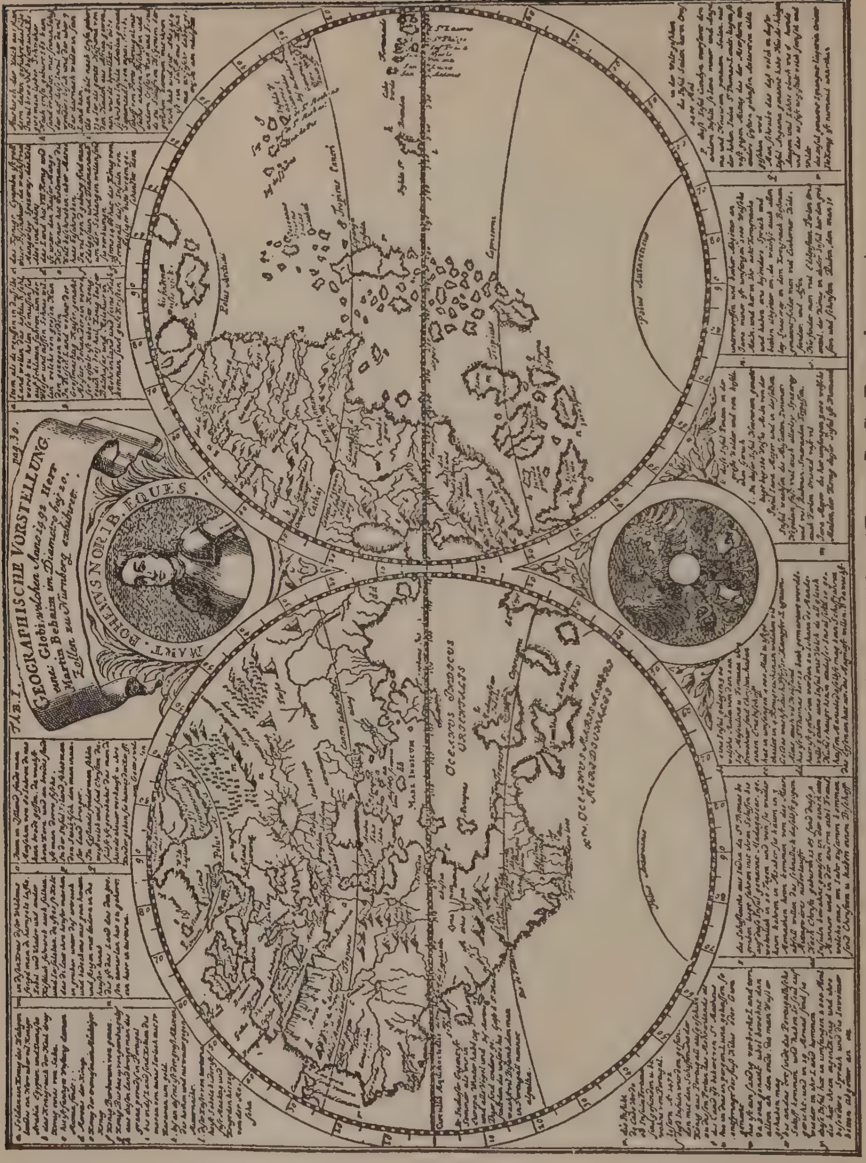
The accession of John II saw both difficulties remedied. Peace was made with Castile, and the Gold Coast secured by the fort of S. Jorge de Mina; a royal geographical council was formed to remedy the deficiencies of the astrolabe and navigators' tables. To its deliberations was summoned foreign aid. Adventurers and promoters of all sorts, attracted by the Portuguese exploits, flocked to Lisbon. From Nuremberg came the German merchant-geographer, Martin Behaim, son-in-law of Governor van Heurter of Fayal, with the latest achievements of the German map-makers and mathematicians. From Florence the librarian-geographer, Toscanelli, despatched a letter and a map of the world which showed lands west of the Azores and hinted of a way to Asia by that route. From Majorca and Minorca was drawn what remained of that great tradition of cartography which had long flourished there. The results were soon apparent. Within four years of the new king's accession, Diego Cam and Behaim found the Congo and reached Walfisch Bay. In two



This map is that of Fra Mauro, 1457. It will be observed that, as in all, or nearly all, mediæval maps, the north is at the bottom of the map, *i.e.*, Permia, "Rossia," Sibir, etc. It includes the Portuguese discoveries, and knowledge from other sources, *i.e.*, Sofala, Diu, "Choncibar," Sumatra, etc., and is, therefore, far in advance of the actual progress of Portugal in the East.



This map is a reconstruction from that which Columbus is said to have received from the Italian geographer Toscanelli, and represents very accurately the ideas of pre-Columbian times. It will be observed that the islands of Antilla and of St. Brandan break the journey to Cipango, Java, and the Asiatic mainland. This reproduction is made after the figure in Kretschmer, *Entdeckung Amerikas*, 1892, and should be compared with the Behaim Globe, p. 94.


TAB. I.
pag. 30.
GEOGRAPHISCHE VORSTELLUNG eines Globi, welchen Anno 1492 Herr Martin Behaim im Diametro hoch 20 Zollen zu Nürnberg exhibiret.
MART. BOHEMVS NORIB. EQUES.

Martin Behaim's globe of 1492. (From J. G. Doppelmayer.)

years more Bartholomew Diaz reached the most southerly point of Africa, conquered the baffling head-winds of its Cabo Tormentoso, or Cape of Storms, re-named the Cape of Good Hope, and sailed five hundred miles beyond that hard-won point, fair on the way to India. With this exploit Prince Henry's work was fitly crowned. 1486

Covilham and Paiva

Yet, with the prize within their grasp, the Portuguese, this time almost unaccountably, again were held back from seizing it. Assailed by doubts and fears; obsessed with visions of Eastern potentates; hampered, perhaps, by the king's ill-health, the royal council spent its strength in securing what had been won. It sought further information from monkish pilgrims, from Arab and from negro sources, strove to penetrate to Prester John by way of Senegal, and finally despatched two men, Pedro de Covilham and Affonso de Paiva, through Egypt to India with letters to the elusive Christian potentate. Meanwhile the west coast of Africa was secured. Along the shore were set up stone pillars, bearing the arms of Portugal, with the name and date of the discoverer; and protectorates were established over native chieftaincies. From Spain was secured renunciation of her claims on Guinea in return for Portugal's abandoning her pretensions to the Canaries; from the Papacy, the confirmation of the privileges it had previously conferred. While these precautionary measures were being taken, the royal messengers reached Aden by way of Cairo. Thence Paiva sailed for Abyssinia and was lost. Covilham, reaching Calicut, returned by way of Sofala and east Africa, learned at Cairo of his companion's death; and turned back to Abyssinia to find Prester John. Well received, he married and remained there, half guest, half captive, until his death. But from Cairo he had sent back letters by a Jewish merchant. "If you persist to the southward," he wrote, ignorant of Diaz's exploit, "Africa will come to an end. When the ships come to the Eastern Ocean, let them ask for Sofala and the island of the Moon [Madagascar] and they will find pilots to take them to Malabar." This, it would have seemed, should have determined immediate action. But not even this definite confirmation of its hopes moved the Portuguese administration. Beyond a grant to one Fernam Dolmos, Lord of Terceira, of the "isles or continent" of Antilla, if he should discover that fabled land, the importunities of those who were urging the plan of reaching the East by sailing west had as little effect as the achievement of Diaz or the letters of Covilham. And before Portugal and her king had recovered from their long fit of lethargy, a great event had altered the whole current of the world's affairs. This was the discovery of the transatlantic passage and the lands of the western hemisphere.

Christopher Columbus

That exploit, however startling in its conception and results, grew naturally from the circumstances of the times in which it fell. Amid the crowd of adventurers drawn to Portugal by the fame of her achievements oversea during the fifteenth century there came to Lisbon, toward the close of Alfonso V's reign, a young Genoese, Christopher Columbus, then between twenty-five and thirty years of age. The son of a weaver and innkeeper, he had followed the sea and picked up some knowledge of map-making and navigation. In Lisbon he married into the family of Perestrello, the grantee of Porto Santo, and thus improved his social status, and, in a sense, laid the foundation of his fortunes. He voyaged, as he claimed, to England, perhaps to Iceland, certainly to Porto Santo, where he lived some years, and almost as certainly to Africa, where rumor indicates his presence at the founding of S. Jorge de Mina. At all events, something in this obscure early career brought him the conviction that land was to be found beyond the westernmost islands then known.

1474-6

His design

The belief was not original with him nor confined to his brain. Like the conception a generation before of a sea-way around Africa, the opinion that land was to be found by sailing west,—great islands and beyond them Asia—was held by many. The Ptolemaic tradition, reinforced by new discoveries, forecastle yarns and travelers' tales, the classical reminiscences of Antilla and Atlantis, the legends of the Seven Cities and St. Brandan's Isle, the discovery of Vinland by the Norsemen—some or all of these he must somewhere have heard. Perhaps, as tradition records, an unknown pilot, blown from his course to new lands in the west, confined his secret to the Genoese. Perhaps his belief was founded on Toscanelli's letter, which came into his hands, it has been surmised, by means which led to his leaving Portugal. However this may be, some eight years after his arrival in Lisbon, the Italian adventurer submitted his design to the king. It comprised four points: that the earth was a sphere, that all save the part between Asia and Europe was known, that this was perhaps not more than a third of the total circumference, and that there were probably islands to break a long voyage. Tradition records that the council sent a ship secretly to test the plan, and that on its return from a fruitless voyage, Columbus, disgusted with Portuguese duplicity, left the country.

His preparation

1478-90

To one less inspired or less persistent than Columbus this final rebuff might well have ended his endeavors; but, fortunately for his fame, the realization of his dream had become a master passion which enabled him to surmount rebuff and ridicule alike. Leaving Portugal, he carried his plan to Genoa, while his brother, Bartholomew, laid it before Henry VII of England. But it met with no response in either place, and it seemed the end had come. Every state of maritime importance, save Venice, had rejected him, and there was left only the Spanish crown, which had already turned him away. This last, however, remained his only hope, and to it, supported and encouraged by his friend, Father Perez, the Prior of la Rabida, sometime confessor to Queen Isabella, he determined to apply once more.

The moment was, in one sense, favorable. The years which had elapsed since Columbus first went to Portugal had seen the whole complexion of Spanish affairs altered; and at this crisis in his fortunes and those of Spain came an event which determined the future of both. This was the final successful attack then being carried on against the Moorish stronghold of Granada, which was to make an end of Arab power in the peninsula. Thus freed from its most ancient enemy, flushed with success, the crown, now all but supreme, was no less ready for new enterprise than Spanish chivalry for a new exploit. Such was the country and the court to which Columbus now addressed himself. His cause was well-nigh lost by the extravagance of his pretensions, for misfortune had not taught him humility. But, four months after the fall of the Moorish stronghold, his persistence was rewarded by a charter granting him the title of Grand Admiral and almost complete monopoly of all privileges and profits in any lands he might discover.

His discovery

With this concession, backed by the support of capitalists of Palos, chiefly the family of Pinzon, ships and crews were collected; and on August 3, 1492, he sailed from Palos in the *Santa Maria* of a hundred tons, accompanied by the *Pinta* of sixty tons under Martin Pinzon, and the *Niña* of fifty tons under Vincente Pinzon. Eighty-six men, chiefly from about Palos, but including at least one Englishman and an Irishman, made up the crews. Refitting at the Canaries, the little fleet sailed thence on September 3, across the unknown sea. Filled with nameless fears, half mutinous, only Columbus' will held his reluctant followers on their course until two o'clock on the morning of October 12, Rodrigo de Triana, lookout of the *Pinta,* saw a land light, and the ships hove to. When day broke, the adventurers found themselves off a small island, Guanahani, one of the Bahamas as it later appeared, upon which, in the presence of a few friendly, half-naked savages, they landed, took possession in the name of Spain, and called the place San Salvador.

His return

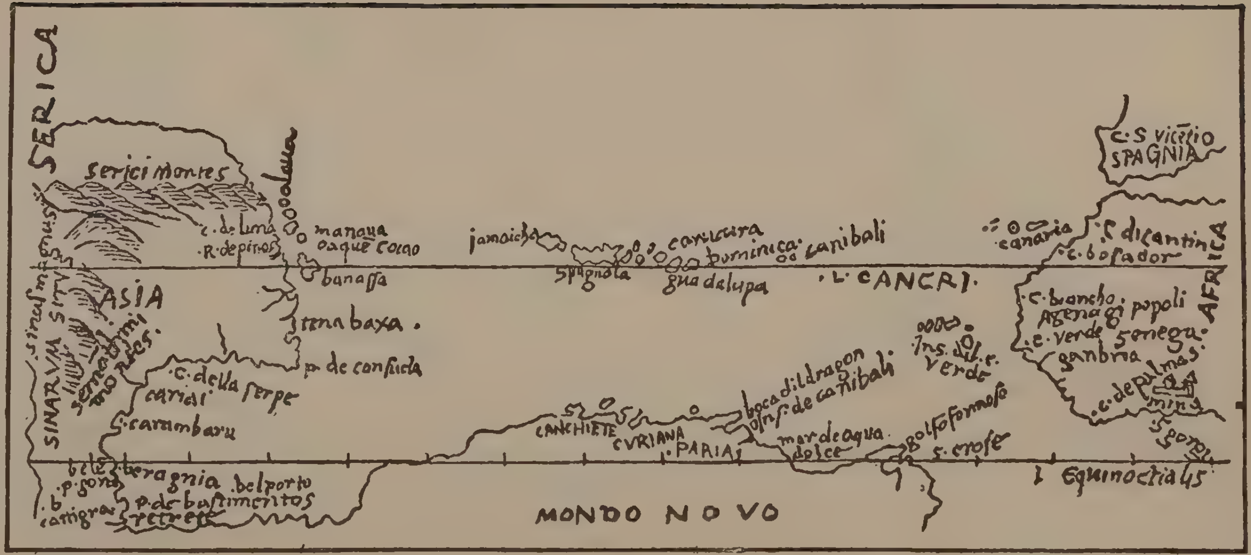
Sailing thence they discovered other islands. The largest, which Columbus believed "the continental province of Cathay" and christened Juana, in honor of the Spanish Infanta, has, after bearing many designations, Fernandina, Santiago, and Ave Maria, returned to its original native name of Cuba. The next, later known as Santo Domingo and Hayti, he called Española. The name of the group, the Antilles, echoes the tradition of Antilla; that of the West Indies perpetuates his error, for he had no doubt that he had reached Asiatic territory. The *Santa Maria* having been wrecked, he left some of his sailors on Española to found a little settlement, Navidad, and hastened to carry the news of his discovery to Spain. Eleven months after the date of his patent, he arrived with proofs of his success. There was need of haste. His contemporary, Behaim, had meanwhile completed in Nuremberg a globe representing the latest geographical knowledge, and proposed to attempt such a voyage as that of Columbus. But he was too late. By his daring the Genoese adventurer, forestalling his rivals, had destroyed even the most advanced conceptions of geography, and had equalized for Spain the long and toilsome advance of Portugal in oceanic expansion. As his coat of arms later recorded, "To Castile and Leon, Columbus gave a New World."

The results

If Portuguese discovery had unsettled mediævalism in Europe, Columbus' exploit seemed likely to destroy it. Upon the balance of trade and commerce generally the effect was not then, nor for some time, appreciable. From his voyage the discoverer brought back a few natives, a little gold, and some curious products of the western hemisphere; and for a generation this represented its contribution to the old world's material resources. But upon European thought the effect was immediate and profound, and upon its politics only less important. A thousand years of ecclesiastical conceptions of earth and man fell at a stroke. Shrewd individuals here and there doubted or discounted or denied his claim that he had found his way to the East Indies. But geographical and astronomical as well as theological ideas were none the less replaced or modified by a whole new series of deductions and hypotheses, no less important because the truth was not yet known and in many quarters judgment was still suspended.

The division of the world

In public affairs the first result of Columbus' great exploit was the destruction of the practical monopoly of exploration by Portugal. It became immediately necessary to readjust the claims to lands outside Europe in accordance with the new situation which he created. Some thirteen years earlier, Pope Martin V, as arbiter of Christendom, had confirmed



This map—which is approximately the size of the original—is taken from Nordenskiöld's *Periplus*, and is there copied from v. Wieser. It was made, apparently, as the first of three, about 1503, and probably represents Columbus' own views of the geography of the lands he found. It is the first map to contain the name *Mondo Novo*, the New World, and was drawn by Bartholomew Columbus, the Admiral's brother. It will be observed that the New World is connected with Asia (and Serica, "the land of silk") and that Cuba is not shown. It has been conjectured by v. Wieser that this omission is due to the fact that Columbus believed Cuba to be a part of the mainland. See Nordenskiöld, as above, and v. Wieser, *Die Karte des Bartolomeo Colombo*, etc., 1893.

to Portugal the territories from Cape Bojador to the East Indies. Now, Pope Alexander VI assigned to Spain all lands beyond a line a hundred leagues west of the Azores, to which he presently added "and eastern regions to India." But Portugal protested and, in the following year, the treaty of Tordesillas fixed the line two hundred and seventy leagues further west; and here, for the time, the matter rested, while Spain devoted her energies to exploitation of her position in the new world. With that, and the discoveries of Portugal, the Mediterranean era of European history came to an end and the oceanic period began. **3-4 May 1493** **25 Sept. 1493** **7 June 1494**

Columbus' second voyage

Whatever its influence on Europe, the effect of Columbus' discovery on his adopted country was immediate and powerful. Flushed with its victory over the Moors, the crown was eager for further exploits. The land was filled with men, trained to war, hating the infidel, brave, adventurous, poor, and now suddenly, on the fall of Granada, without an occupation. To such a society a new world came like a gift from Heaven. Reinforced by loans from private sources, the crown found money for a second expedition out of church tithes and confiscated property of the Jews, banished from Spain the year before. Recruits flocked to the standard of the "captain-general," and, six months from his return, Columbus sailed again with seventeen ships, a thousand recruits, two hundred volunteers; and, once at sea, this force was unexpectedly increased by the appearance of three hundred stowaways. But the ships took out not men alone. Horses, sheep, and cattle, vegetable-seeds, grain, vines, and fruit-trees from Spain; goats, pigs, chickens, orange, lemon, and melon seeds, and, above all, sugar-cane from the Canaries, where they stopped to refit, made up the first gift of the old world to the new, so curiously deficient in these necessities of European life. And, had the crown foreseen, as well, the need of women colonists, perhaps the darkest chapter of Spanish expansion would not have been written.

Discovering a new island, Dominica, on their way, no trace was found of Navidad, whose settlers doubtless died at native hands; and a new colony, Isabella, was established, which was at once a type of Spanish civilization and a model for its later settlements. Streets and a plaza were laid out; and, among the rude huts of the men, rose public buildings of stone, an arsenal and storehouse, a fort, a hospital, and a church, symbols at once of the authority and the meaning of the Spanish power now about to be established in this new environment. But illness, disappointment at the scantiness of gold, internal dissension, and trouble with the natives ensued. Public opinion began to turn against the venture; and when Columbus, having explored Cuba, Jamaica, and southern Española, returned to Spain two years later, he had to defend his rights, restore shaken confidence, and recruit fresh settlers for his colony by any means, even from the jails.

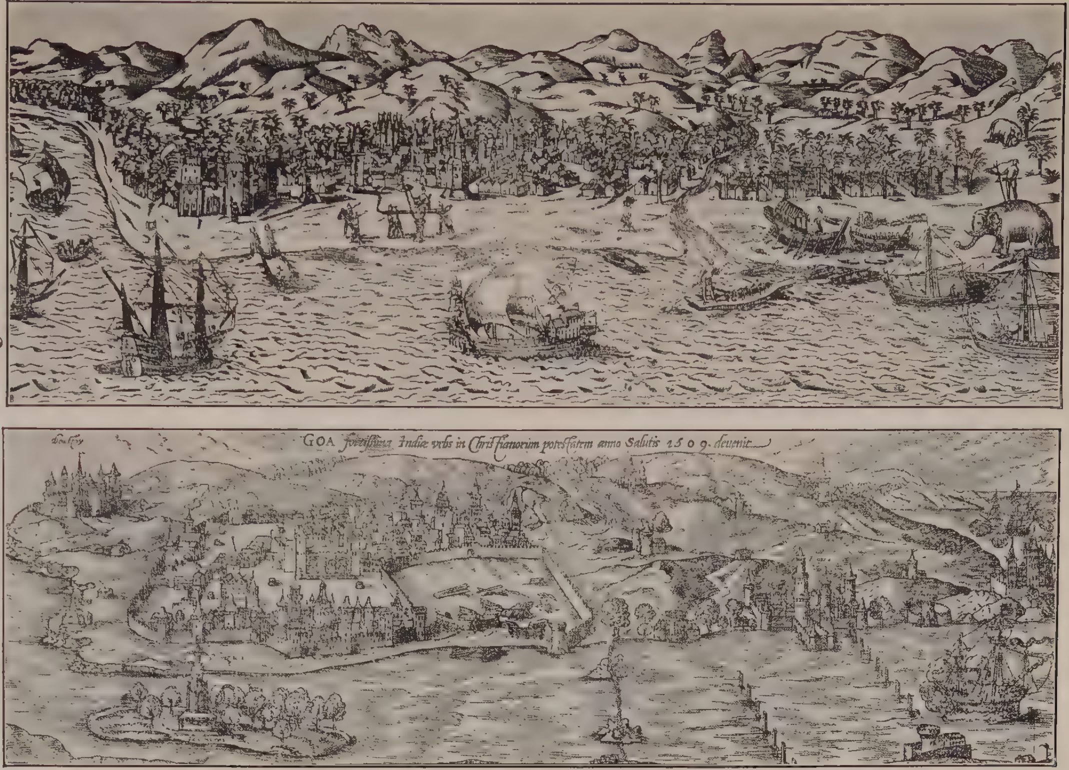
John Cabot

Before he could set out again, other nations entered the field. A certain Zuan Caboto, Anglicized John Cabot, Genoese-born and naturalized in Venice, having visited Lisbon to learn the new geography, had settled in Bristol. Thence, under patent from Henry VII, he sailed with eighteen men across the North Atlantic in the summer of 1497; and, after six weeks, sighted land, most probably Cape Breton Island, and so returned to England to receive the title of Grand Admiral, ten pounds from the royal chest, twenty pounds pension from the customs of Bristol, and a patent for another voyage. But the results of that second voyage, if such there was, are uncertain, and with some contribution to geography and the establishment of English claims on North America, his gallant exploit ended save for its influence on the fortunes of his son and companion, Sebastian, who was destined to great deeds in later years.

1497

Vasco da Gama

It was far different with Portugal. Roused by the success of Spain, her enterprise revived with the accession of Emmanuel, aptly styled, not the Great, but the Fortunate; and a fleet was prepared to find the sea-way to the East. Nothing was omitted to ensure success. Three ships and a transport, a hundred and sixty men, commanded by an able and experienced gentleman of the court, Vasco da Gama, backed by


GOA fortiſſima Indiæ vrbs in Chriſtianorum poteſtatem anno Salutis 1509. deuenit

VIEWS OF CALICUT (above) AND GOA.

The view of Calicut is from Münster's *Cosmographie* (1575), from a much older original, probably drawn in the early years of the 16th century shortly after the arrival of the Portuguese. The picture of Goa is from the same source and with probably the same origin, as later pictures in each case show much larger and more elaborate city plans and buildings.

brought their storm-racked, leaky vessels to the Azores with a loss of near two-thirds of their number, da Gama's brother among them. Two years and a half after their departure they anchored again in the Tagus. If their dangers and hardships had been great, the reward of the survivors was commensurate, for sixty times the cost of the expedition was returned in profits. Da Gama was ennobled and the King assumed the title of "Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and China,"—at once a symbol of achievement and a prophecy. Throughout the land feasts and public thanksgivings celebrated da Gama's return; for the dream of Prince Henry had at last come true, and Portugal saw the road to wealth and power lie open to its energies.

The results

But Portuguese rejoicings found no echo elsewhere in Europe. Far slighter in its effect on European thought, da Gama's exploit far surpassed that of Columbus in its influence on affairs. The Genoese had, indeed, found a new world, but its vast, sparsely inhabited, and wholly uncivilized stretches of coast and forest, with some curiosities, pearls, and dye-woods, enough gold to whet the appetite for more, a turbulent colony, and an unrivaled collection of marvelous tales which, six years after his discovery, formed the total result of his achievement, seemed almost trivial beside the prospects held out by this first voyage of the Portuguese. Instead of exploring vast reaches of tropical sea and shore to find, at best, half-naked savages; or bearing settlers and the necessities of life to a struggling colony, da Gama had sailed into a safe harbor filled with the commerce of three continents. He had encountered a civilization in many respects comparable to his own, in a land whose dense population, while it forbade colonization, offered unlimited possibilities of trade, with almost incredible profits. Of the vast interior of India the Portuguese knew little and cared less. For the difficulties confronting them they cared scarcely more. They had but little inclination and scarcely more opportunity for territorial conquest. Their sole interest was to secure a foothold and the control of the commerce between Asia and Europe, to become the middlemen from whom, instead of from Arab or Italian merchants, all Europe must buy.

Thus early were the differences determined not merely between the rival ambitions of Portugal and Spain, but between the types of European political expansion, and European influence in the East and West. Nor was this all. On the great trading centers of Europe—the long line of Italian posts stretching toward the East; on Venice and Genoa; even on the network of northern Hanse towns—Turkish and Mongol conquest had borne hard. Commerce had struggled through the barrier thus raised; the greater part, which had once found its way between the Levant and Italy, was diverted to Egypt or north of the Caspian, paid tribute to the conqueror, and, however crippled, had somehow gone on. To its merchants Columbus' discovery, once the more clear-sighted had perceived its significance, made little difference. From that quarter their traffic with the East had nothing to fear. But when the news of da Gama's voyage came, Italian city councils and guilds met with sinking hearts, and women wept in the streets. For the dullest intelligence could see that, unless in some way the Portuguese were checked, the ruin of the older capitals of commerce was at hand.

The blow was met in different ways. The Venetians, on whom it fell hardest of all, for a time even joined hands with Egypt to repel the invader. Florence and Genoa, the richer merchants of the north, and the Hanse towns, hastened to share the profits; and unlicensed adventurers from many lands sought, sometimes with success, the closely guarded way to the wealth of the East. The outlet for her commercial and conquering activities so long closed by the successes of the Asiatic hordes pressing upon her eastern borders was now opened in another quarter, and Europe hastened to enjoy its profits and to take her ancient enemies in the flank and rear.

Conclusion —Europe and the discoveries

Such were the great events which, as the fifteenth century wore to a close, determined the future of European development. In the world of politics centralized despotism became the order of the day among the national states of the west. In the wider field of international relations these same powers found themselves in rivalry for pre-eminence, and Italian dissension provided an outlet for their ambitious plans. At the same time the intellectual movement centering in that peninsula was confronted by the concurrent attack on the ecclesiastical establishment which had its capital there, and the astonishing revelations of the scope and content of the world through Spanish and Portuguese discoveries. Hence simultaneously every department of European life was stimulated from these various centers to a new activity. The century which began with Portuguese adventure in Africa and the uncovering of the ancient civilization, which midway of its career experienced the shock of the Turkish capture of Constantinople, thus ended in a burst of conquering and creative energy which at once revealed new worlds to European experience and pointed the way to an unparalleled opportunity to exercise those qualities and resources which the preceding generations had done so much to strengthen and secure.

Of this there is one striking illustration. Between the fall of the Roman Empire and the discovery of America, Europe had been rather the passive than the active element in that great shifting of population to which we give the name of folk-wandering or migration. Within her own borders, indeed, there had been great movements which altered the whole complexion of her peoples. The Norsemen and the Crusaders had pushed a little way beyond her boundaries. But the pressure of Asia upon Europe had been far stronger than that of Europeans upon the other continents. Tartar and Finn, Arab, Magyar, Turk and Bulgarian had made good their occupation of great stretches of European territory and had reduced materially the area once held by so-called European peoples.

Now, however, all was changed. From the years which saw the entry of Portugal and Spain into lands beyond the sea to the present day the great, outstanding factor in the world's affairs has been European aggression. If there is one thing above all others which divides mediæval from modern world history it is the fact that the conditions of folk-wandering have been reversed. Europe is no longer the goal but the starting-point of migration. And this circumstance in no small degree measures her altered status among the continents; and characterizes, as well as conditions, what we know as modern polity.

CHAPTER IV

THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN POLITICS

THE RISE OF NATIONAL KINGSHIPS. 1400-1517

THE exploits of Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama determine definitely that break between the middle ages and modern Europe which had already found expression in the Renaissance and a point of departure in the fall of Constantinople. The developments which culminated in the discovery of the transatlantic passage and the lands beyond, of the way about Africa and the sources of Asiatic trade, revolutionized not merely the economic bases of European life; they had no less effect upon the intellect. They accelerated progress along certain lines of thought and action, and at the same time brought the end of other activities within sight. While they opened new channels of trade and new fields for conquest, they dealt a blow to Italy's commercial supremacy from which she never recovered. While they stimulated the intellectual activities which based themselves on science and investigation, they undermined theological speculation based on dogma and revelation.

The discoveries and European politics

Finally the discoveries came ultimately to affect that from which they seemed for the moment most remote, the field of continental politics. They modified the relations of one state with another, in Europe itself. They brought European power into contact with strange lands and peoples, with systems and interests hitherto foreign to European experience. But these were not their greatest and most far-reaching results. For they established in distant lands new societies, modified by their peculiar environment, like, and yet unlike, Europe itself. However much they influenced the regions which they now entered, Europeans were, in their turn, affected scarcely less by the return current of the conditions and actions of their opponents, and still more by the activities of their own descendants in those distant centers. And however profoundly the European intellect was stimulated by the unfolding of a great past, it was inspired no less by the prospect of a still greater future, which was revealed by the discoveries.

The beginnings of modern European polity

These wider and deeper issues, however, were as yet far distant. For the time being men were more concerned by a problem which lay nearer at hand—the development of European polity. During the very years which had seen the vast extension of her knowledge and her power through the activities of her scholars and her adventurers, Europe had been engaged in revolutionizing the theories and practices of her political life. Among the elements which combined with the Renaissance and the discoveries, to lay the foundations of the modern world during this eventful fifteenth century, not the least was the development of national and international relationships into a system, which, however rudimentary and unformed, resembled that to which we are accustomed far more than it was like the mediæval complex from which it was evolved. Before the end of the century, so rapid was the progress of this movement, Europe had been transformed into a group of national kingships, well on the way toward absolutism, and the map of the continent, like the organization of political affairs, had taken on a form not wholly unfamiliar to our eyes.

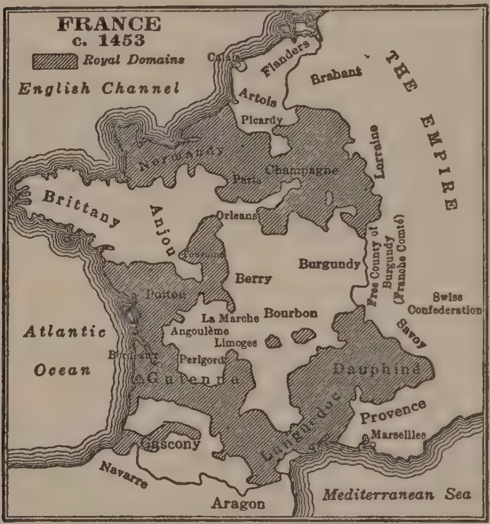
France and England

That development had been almost if not quite contemporary with the progress of the Renaissance and the age of discovery. In the same months that Poggio Bracciolini had turned from his duties at the Council of Constance to collect classical manuscripts, King John had prepared his expedition against Ceuta, and his nephew, Henry V of England, began the final stage of that hundred years' war with France, which had already lasted three-quarters of a century. Three months after the capture of Ceuta, the victory of Agincourt put northern France into his hands, and his marriage with the French princess confirmed his title as regent and heir of the French monarchy. For a time it seemed that 1415

the long-cherished dream of the English kings might be realized and the two lands joined under one crown. But Henry's death, seven years later, brought that dream to an 1422
end. From the moment of the accession of his feeble son and heir, Henry VI, to the English throne, the English cause in France was doomed. Despite their desperate resistance, and the ability of their leader, the Duke of Bedford, they lost ground. With the advent of the heroic Joan of Arc, 1428-9
the French, aided by the designing Duke of Burgundy, inspired by what they reckoned the miraculous intervention of Providence in the person of the peasant girl of Domremy, and guided by the genius of their commanders, began to win back their land. At the same moment that Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turk, the battle of Chatillon broke 1453
the power of the English in France, and of their wide possessions they retained only Calais as the symbol of their ambitious designs.

The collapse of their continental power was not entirely due to the intervention of the martyred peasant heroine, or to the lack of the gallantry of English troops; nor was the French success owing wholly to their superior virtue or skill in arms. As the war went on England had become involved in the coils of civil dispute, which the weak Lancastrian king was powerless to check. At the same time the people of France were welded into one by their common hatred of the invader, and found in their ruler, Charles VII, 1422-61
"the well-served," a focus for that spirit of common custom and purpose to which we give the name of nationality. Scarcely had the battle of Chatillon been fought, when the effects of these divergent forces were apparent in the two nations. The insanity of the English king and the birth of an heir brought to a head the rivalry of the two houses of York and Lancaster, the one desirous, the other in possession of the throne. The Duke of York, deposed from his regency by the recovery of the king, took arms against the crown, and there began that devastating conflict known as the Wars 1453-85
of the Roses, which for a full generation absorbed the energies of the English people.

France Meanwhile, France, under the rule of Charles VII, had moved forward toward unity and strong administration. A standing army was established; and the States General agreed on a fixed tax to support it; the liberties of the Gallican church were asserted against Papal dominance; and with these reforms and the success against the English, there began that consolidation of territory and royal power which continued throughout the century. 1461-83 To Charles VII succeeded his son, Louis XI, whose shrewd, intriguing rule brought France increasing boundaries and strength. From Aragon he bought the border fortress of Roussillon; over the Somme towns and Normandy he assumed royal rights; and, in spite of the opposition of powerful leagues of nobles aided by Burgundy and Spain, his policy of aggrandizement made way.



1477 Finally, when the rash attempt of Charles the Bold of Burgundy to extend his frontiers in Switzerland and France brought him defeat and death, the astute French king ended his long labors with fresh accession of territory. Anjou and Bar had already come under his authority; now Guienne and part of Burgundy were added to his dominions. His work, 1481 crowned finally by the marriage of his son to Anne of Brittany, rounded out the boundaries of a new France.

Meanwhile, the battle of Bosworth Field, last of the many 1485 engagements which had marked the Wars of the Roses, cost Richard III his life and the Yorkish cause the throne. Henry of Richmond, of the Tudor line, took the crown as the prize of his victory and established a new dynasty, confirming his title by marriage with the Yorkist heiress, and so uniting England again. Thus, at almost the same moment, the old rivals found themselves in the same position, their earlier internal differences largely removed and their strength consolidated under a vastly increased royal authority, prepared to use its newly won power in the cause of absolutism.

Spain

Had Europe remained in the same situation which had confronted it a generation earlier, it might well have been that the reviving energy of England and of France would have renewed their quarrel where they had left off thirty years before. But politics, like every other aspect of society, had been revolutionized in the interval. On the south the long conflicts between the rival houses of Castile and Aragon, which had filled a great part of the middle ages and divided the interest of those Christian states with wars against the Moors, had come to an end. Moreover, with the accession of Ferdinand the Catholic to the throne of Aragon, six years before the battle of Bosworth Field, the fortunes of the Spanish states were finally united. For he had married the heiress of Castile, the princess Isabella, and, at the moment that England and France took their place in European polity in something of the form they were to keep for centuries, the kingdom of Spain, now finally unified, turned to conclude that long conflict with the Mohammedan power which still held the southern part of the peninsula.

1479-1516

Eastern Europe

Nor was this all. There are two circumstances beside the rise of these national kingships which in the light of later events distinguish the fifteenth century in the realm of politics. The one is the development of powerful states east of the Oder; the other is the fact that central Europe resisted the impulse toward the aggregation of lands under a centralized monarchy, and perpetuated those smaller local sovereignties which it was the purpose of the rest of the continent to merge into greater organisms. Of these the first was, for the time being, the more significant. At the same moment that western Europe was being transformed into political units which look familiar to modern eyes, these eastern regions, under like impulse, began a process of amalgamation and centralization which not merely created political entities but brought them into contact with the current of European affairs in which they were to play an increasing part. Thus, in no small degree, these contributed to the expansion of Europe, as it were, within her own geographical boundaries.

The lands which now began to take their place in European polity were those vast forests and plains east of the Oder. In the main they were occupied or at least dominated by the Slavic peoples who, with the Celtic elements in the west and the Teutonic elements in the center, made up the great ethnic groups into which the European peoples are roughly divided.

The Scandinavians

Nowhere was the process of organization more needed than here, if these races were to become a part of the European system. The Scandinavian states had been organized centuries before into the kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, which in varying relationships still endured. They had already made their great contribution to history in the form of a folk-wandering which had established their dukedoms and principalities along the northern borders of the continent. They had founded Normandy, conquered England, and, from Greenland to Sicily, had dotted the coasts and islands with their settlements and the states which had arisen from their conquests. Central and western Europe had evolved their own systems of society and administration. The east remained, therefore, the only district still somewhat apart from the main current of European affairs at the beginning of the fifteenth century. And its entry into that circle is, in consequence, of no less importance to Europe's history than the developments of politics and culture in the west, or the extension of European power beyond the sea.

800-1000

Russia 835-935

A beginning had long since been made. In the same century that the storm of Norse and Danish invasion had burst upon the west, and the fierce warrior-seamen had gained their first booty, then a foothold in France and the British Isles, their Swedish cousins had found among the rude and unorganized Slavs a field for like conquering activities, especially in the regions east and southeast of the Baltic. While Rollo founded the dukedom of Normandy in France, and Guthrum established the kingdom of East Anglia in Britain, a horde of Swedish adventurers set up principalities, duchies, and free cities, and organized a group of rival states, Tver and Pskoff, Novgorod and Moscow, and their suzerain, the principality of Kieff, whose early and long continued activities expressed themselves chiefly, as usual, in the form of wars, with each other and with their neighbors.

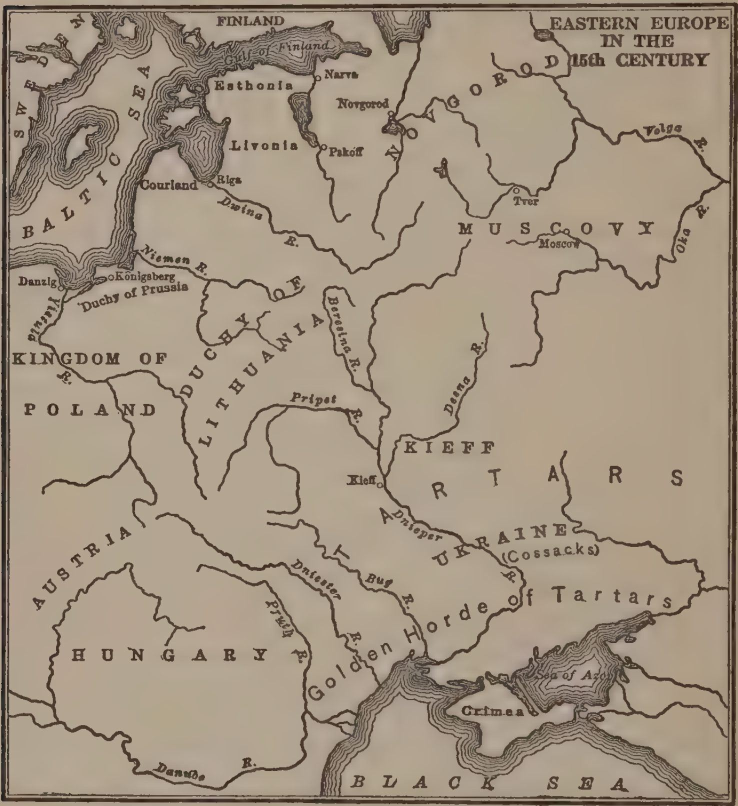
Moscow and the Tartars

The dreary chronicle of this long rivalry was interrupted by the great Mongol invasion. This, in the thirteenth century, swept across the steppes from central Asia, brought the wide plains north of the Black and Caspian seas under Tartar dominion, and reduced the Slavic principalities to little more than vassal states. 1225-50 Thenceforth there was added to the struggles of those states among themselves a long and bitter conflict with the Great Horde of Tartars, not unlike that which the Iberian peoples had carried on against the Moors in the west. This struggle, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, had brought the duchy of Moscow into the position of the chief champion of Slavic independence and so given it a certain primacy among its fellows. Meanwhile, from among these various elements had been slowly evolved, as the only profitable result of almost constant war, the loosely woven kingdoms known as Poland and Lithuania, which, sharing the conflict with the Tartars, had found themselves 1386-1592 opposed by the Swedish power pressing upon them from the north and that of the Germans pushing forward from the west. These, united under the house of Jagello, were destined to endure in that connection for more than two centuries.

The Germanic orders 1226-83

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the advance guards of this Germanic invasion, the crusading orders of the Teutonic Knights and the Knights of the Sword, had conquered a considerable territory about the southern shores of the Baltic, and had spread their power among the heathen peoples, Prussians, Livonians, Esthonians, Wends, and kin-

dred tribes which occupied that district. The greater part of Lithuania fell into their hands. But, five years before the battle of Agincourt and the capture of Ceuta, the Teutonic Knights had suffered a great defeat at the hands of the
1410 united Poles and Lithuanians in the battle of Tannenberg.



As a result of this catastrophe, their power, already undermined by the same forces which had weakened all such crusading orders, ceased to expand its territorial sovereignty.

Hungary and Bohemia Such was the situation of the east at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The destruction of Kieff by the Mongols in 1240, and its subsequent conquest by the Lithuanians eighty years later, brought the duchy of Muscovy to the leadership of what was to be known as Russia, while the Poles, meanwhile, absorbed the debatable land of Lithuania. Nor was this all of the eastern situation. Far to the south, at the same time that the Norsemen established themselves in the west and the Swedes in the east, a Turanian tribe allied to the Finns, the so-called Magyars, had conquered the district known as Hungary. There they set up a kingdom of their own, whose fortunes were interwoven with those of their neighbors, and at the end of the fourteenth century united them for a time under the same crown with Poland. Beside these, still, a branch of the Slavic peoples, the Czechs, as they were called, had occupied that land we know as Bohemia, and there maintained a precarious independence until the beginning of the century of amalgamation and expansion, which commenced with Ceuta and Agincourt.

875-900

1370-82

The church in eastern Europe

Were the history of Europe dependent on the mere recital of endless conflicts among such elements, it would have the same interest as a chronicle of the wars of kites and crows, the same importance as the struggle for better hunting grounds between rival wolf packs. But there were other factors involved in this evolution. About the year 1000 the missionaries of the Greek and Roman Catholic communions began to find their way among the new conquerors of the east, as five hundred years earlier the emissaries of the Roman and Celtic churches had begun to Christianize the Franks and Anglo-Saxons in the west, and, more recently, the Scandinavian peoples at home and in their distant conquests. Thus Russia and Lithuania became converted to the Greek—Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary to the Roman—form of Christianity. And there began that connection with Constantinople and Rome which, like the earlier activity of the church in the west, contributed to the spread of what we call civilization, no less than to the improvement of faith and morals.

Commerce in eastern Europe

The second influence was that of trade. With the establishment of centers of population and power like those cities which, beginning with Novgorod, had risen among the rude communal settlements of the original inhabitants, came the development of commerce, first among themselves, then with their neighbors, as the demand grew for things which their own resources could not provide. The shrewd and enterprising merchants of the Hanseatic League were quick to find their way to peoples who could supply them with furs and skins, with the products of forests and fisheries. Thus there sprang up, in the course of centuries, a brisk trade which, even more than the ministrations of the churchmen, brought these rude peoples into touch first with the material, then, more slowly, with the intellectual progress of western Europe. To this the struggles between the east and west contributed, for they learned of their enemies. And, however retarded in their development, by the Mongol invasions, the Slavs thus came within the widening bounds of European culture.

Social condition of the Slavs

They were, indeed, far behind the peoples of the west in their social and political, no less than in their cultural evolution. Their peasantry maintained the rude organization of the village community, or *mir*, for centuries after it had been superseded by other types of land tenure and cultivation in the rest of Europe. Their ruling classes and their administration tended continually to revert to Asiatic rather than advance to European standards, and a certain barbaric spirit was evident in their habits and tastes. As late as the fifteenth century it was still possible for a Muscovite ruler to confiscate the goods of foreign merchants and so drive trade from his territories. It was possible for the Polish nobility to reduce their tenants to the condition of serfdom a hundred years after villenage had virtually disappeared in England. The doctrines and practices of feudalism and chivalry were still powerful in Poland nearly two centuries after they had vanished in western Europe, while they can scarcely be said to have influenced Russia at all. There was not in these eastern states, until far into modern times, any such middle class as that which played so great a part in western Europe. Thus the entry of these peoples into the circle of European affairs marked for them, as for Europe itself, a great step forward in the progress of the politics and the civilization of the continent.

The Empire and eastern Europe—Brandenburg

As its earliest agents had been the Scandinavian conquerors, its later representatives had been the Germans, who, whether as merchants or adventurers, looked with longing eyes upon the Slavic peoples and their territories. And hardly had the results of the battle of Tannenberg become apparent, when the Empire took up the sword which had fallen from the hands of the Teutonic Knights. By the establishment of a mark or border county along the lower Oder, to protect Germany in that quarter from possible inroads, in the twelfth century it had conferred that region upon the house of Ballenstädt or Askania. Thence it had come into the hands of Ludwig of Bavaria, thence it passed to Austria, and now again it changed masters.

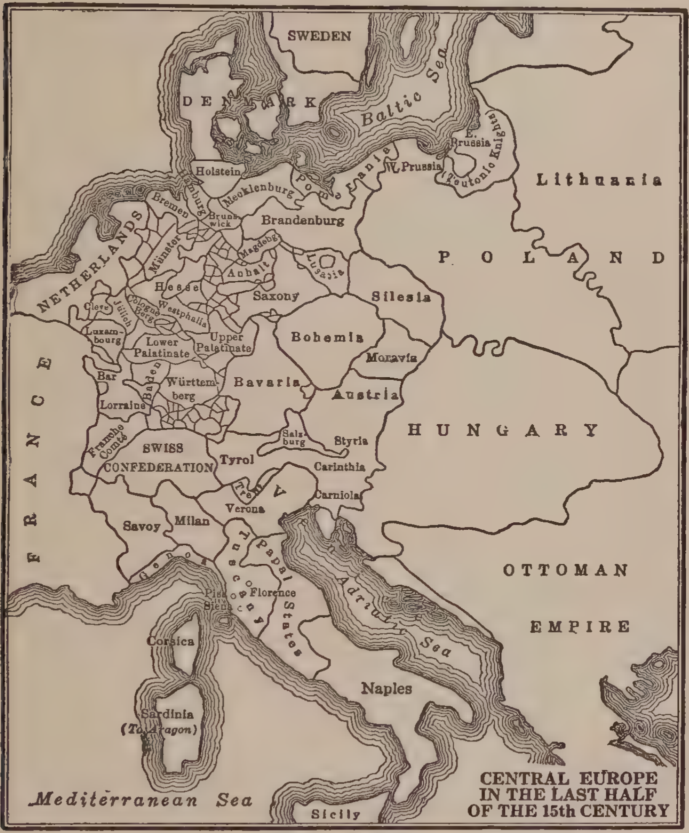
The beginnings of the power which now acquired these lands debatable were simple enough. The Council of Constance, among its numerous activities, confirmed and invested a certain Frederick of Hohenzollern, burggraf or city count of Nuremberg, with the territories granted to him by the Emperor, and he became markgraf or count of the marches of Brandenburg, commissioned to hold the northern borders against the Slavs. With this began the history of that house which, as the rulers of what was to be known as Prussia, thenceforth played a part in European politics. Twenty-three years later the house of Hapsburg, which had held a similar position along the Danube for a century and a half, and had advanced its borders deep into Germany by the conquest of the Bohemians, achieved election to the headship of the Empire. This it retained, through many vicissitudes, in an unbroken line of male descent and election for three hundred years. Following these adjustments, the throne of Poland-Lithuania was now confirmed in the house of Jagello, that of Russia in the line of Rurik, the house of Wettin became the rulers of Saxony, and the Scandinavian kingdoms were united under the Danish-Norwegian crown. In such fashion the eastern states now began to take form, and from this situation proceeded the events of the fifteenth century.

The Hapsburgs

Poland

Nothing can better illustrate the contrast between the rival political principles at work during that eventful period than a comparison between the two great Slavic states in these same periods. While the rest of Europe tended toward absolutism, the Polish nobles began to assert successfully the power of their order against the other elements of the state. The diet began to overshadow the king, and to legislate in favor of the class which controlled it. The result was soon apparent, not only in the depression of the peasants into serfdom, but in the exclusion of the middle class from the slender political privileges which they had earlier enjoyed. Flushed with their victory over those beneath them, the nobles turned against the crown, enacted laws forbidding the king to declare war without their consent, and took to themselves the virtual direction of executive action. Worse still, they laid the foundations of that right of free veto which, by making unanimous consent of the diet necessary to the enactment of laws, made salutary legislation impossible, and so gradually reduced the state to impotence.

Muscovy While Poland established a system which, in later generations, was to make her one of the great prizes of European rivalry, her great neighbor on the east rose to power by a precisely opposite policy. **1462-1505** With the accession of Ivan III began an era not unlike that which the reign of Louis XI brought to France. His first efforts were directed against the free city of Novgorod, which, sixteen years after he came to the throne, was overpowered by Muscovy. Thereafter Tver, Ryasan, and the dependencies of Pskoff fell into his hands, and the way was opened for the acquisition of the latter city state. As the power of the Golden Horde declined, Ivan seized the opportunity to throw off the Tartar yoke. Finally, by his marriage to Sophia Palæologus, niece of the **1469** last Emperor of the East, who found refuge from the Turks among the Muscovites, he learned from the Byzantine princes "to penetrate the secret of autocracy." He assumed the double-headed eagle as the symbol of his authority and of his ambition to be regarded as the successor of the dynasty which had fallen before the Turkish attack, and so inaugurated that policy which for more than four hundred years has directed its strength toward the recovery of Constantinople by a Christian state. To this he added a code of laws, and the beginnings of a system which looked toward the absolute power of the crown over nobles and peasants alike. In such fashion, strangely like that pursued by England and France in the same years, was the Muscovite power consolidated into a Russian kingdom, at once the pupil and the presumptive heir of the Byzantine Empire, whose religion it professed and to whose leadership of the east it thenceforth aspired.



CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE LAST HALF OF THE 15th CENTURY

Austria and Switzerland

Nor was this spirit of consolidation less apparent in Germany. Its history, during the fifteenth century, though it lacked somewhat of the spectacular quality of war and diplomacy which it so strikingly exhibited thereafter, and though it met with no such success as its neighbors east and west, revealed the same powerful motive as that which dominated the affairs of its neighbors. 1353-86 Midway of the century, after long conflict, the house of Hapsburg finally lost its hold on those tiny territories of the western Alps, which, under the name of Switzerland, combined into a species of republic which has maintained its independence, almost without a break, from that day to this. But with the accession of Maximilian in the year after the discovery of America, this was, in some measure, compensated by the acquisition of the eastern Alpine region, known as the Tyrol, and the reversion of the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, which have since remained in Hapsburg hands. With these, joined to the region known as Austria and the Austrian Alps, reinforced by the scattered lands of his old Swabian inheritance, Maximilian laid the foundations of the Hapsburg power which for four hundred years has played a principal part in the history of the continent.

Germany and Maximilian I

This was accompanied by efforts to bring the Empire over which he exercised a variable suzerainty under more direct and more efficient control, comparable to that which was being established meanwhile in the states about him. Like 1493-1519 his royal contemporaries, he endeavored to give form and substance to his imperial title, and centralized government to his dominions, which, next to Italy, stood in most need of such stable union. Like them he proclaimed and endeavored to enforce the public peace. Like them he set up a council, the Imperial Chamber, a court of appeals, and later a so-called Aulic Council, in an effort to compose the endless quarrels of the lesser rulers, and to extend his authority over them. To these he strove to add an imperial system of taxation, the ''common penny''; and, establishing units of local administration, the ''circles,'' as they were known, he made a serious attempt to create real unity under imperial forms and authority. To such designs the German middle classes, like their fellows in other lands, were not averse, but among the selfish, decentralizing class of petty rulers they roused powerful opposition, which neither his authority, nor his character, nor the strength of his supporters was sufficient to overcome. On these, and on his foreign policy which involved him in Italian affairs, his great design was wrecked. Of all his schemes only the marriage alliances which united the Hapsburg house with those of Burgundy, Bohemia-Hungary, and Aragon proved ultimately successful. In them he laid the foundations for the world-empire of his grandson and imperial successor, Charles V; and this, as it proved, was his chief contribution to the next phase of European history.

The Papacy

If it were not enough that, during this eventful fifteenth century, England, France and Spain, Austria, Russia and Poland took on something of the form they were thenceforth to retain, so all-pervasive was the influence of the consolidating and dynastic forces in this period, they found their way even into the Papacy. Among the phenomena which the European world exhibited at the beginning of the sixteenth century, none was more typical than the career of that Giuliano della Rovere who ascended the Papal throne as Julius II. Trained by his uncle, Sixtus IV, in the arts of diplomacy and administration, he became a prince of the church in fact as in name. When the Borgias, joined with the Sforzas, outwitted their rivals, the della Roveres, and set Roderigo Borgia in the Papal chair as Alexander VI, the future Julius II took refuge with Charles VIII of France and incited him to the invasion of Italy in revenge. Chosen Pope, this greatest of the della Roveres fought, intrigued, negotiated like any lay sovereign to emancipate the temporal power of the Papacy and to advance the fortunes of his house. The Papal States were freed from the pressure of outside powers, Venice subdued by aid of France and the Empire, and these, in turn, expelled from Italy by his adroit diplomacy. Had he been a lay prince, it is by no means improbable that he might have succeeded in uniting Italy, as he aspired to do. Even in his failure to accomplish this great end he revealed not only the qualities which set him

—Alexander VI 1492-1503

—Julius II 1503-13

among the great statesmen of his age, but that spirit which was then remodeling the continent. And among the various manifestations of political and ecclesiastical activity which the fifteenth century and its successors afforded, not the least significant was the contest between the church and the Papacy, the one bent upon limiting Papal power by councils, the other determined to remain, as far as possible, an autocracy.

Despotism

By virtue of these events, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, five powerful states, Spain, France, England, Russia, and Austria, arose in Europe, four of them based on the new principle of nationality, and at least three of them prepared by their position to dispute the supremacy of the Atlantic with Portugal, if and when opportunity presented itself. Different as they were, those peoples which had embarked on the uncharted sea of political experiment had one thing in common, the desire to substitute some new form of government in place of that feudal system whose evils they had experienced long after its good effects had passed away. To men who had suffered from the anarchy which it had engendered there appeared but one remedy, and that was offered them by those ruling houses which saw in this spirit of discontent an opportunity to extend their own power. This was the establishment of a central government able and willing to ensure the discontinuance of private war and those local rivalries which had thus far been an effective barrier against the development of the arts of peace. In that belief they welcomed the creation of a royal authority which grouped together peoples of like language, customs, and traditions, as well as common interests, in larger and stronger units. What democracy was to be to the nineteenth century, despotism was to the sixteenth.

Yet it was far from the despotism of an Asiatic type, especially in western Europe. It was based no less upon the consent of the middle and lower classes which saw in the supremacy of one ruler the pledge of internal peace and security so necessary to material and social prosperity, than it was upon the desires and ambitions of great dynastic interests for their own aggrandizement. Everywhere the mercantile element, in particular, supported the growing authority of the king, and the widening bounds of an official power strong enough to check the petty oppression and the imminent dangers of local despots. For this they were willing to sacrifice something of their own slender liberties. For this they were willing to endure the burdens of national taxes and national struggles; since they felt, however dimly, something of the new national security, and of the new national greatness, in which they had a share, however humble.

The new royal councils

With this were bound up the problems of the extent and limitations of the rapidly increasing royal authority; and of these the first naturally seemed of chief importance to the dynasties which had found their opportunity for wider power in the popular antagonism to feudal organization and the nascent spirit of nationality. Almost without exception the various states of Europe, thus being revolutionized, saw the rise of that most universal and natural of all political devices, a council of those whose secular or ecclesiastical authority entitled them to a voice in government. But the new national royal council differed from that of the feudal régime which had preceded it in at least one important particular. It represented rather the king than the nobility. It was long necessary to distribute the offices of state among those whose possessions made their support essential to the crown. But the constant tendency of the new kingship was to decrease the numbers and the influence of that baronage which had so long directed the course of public affairs to their own advantage and the popular injury. In consequence, the royal council tended henceforth to the inclusion of men dependent on the king and devoted to his interest as against all other elements in the state. As royal power had grown by the extension of its own system of jurisdiction over that highly prized prerogative of the mediæval baronage, justice became the monopoly of the crown, and as the king's council became the source of law, his courts became the fountain of justice.

Local administration followed a like course; and beside, or in the place of, baronial jurisdictions appeared the crown

Absolutism and local government

officers, to preserve peace, collect taxes, try cases, and represent the central authority. In many cases provincial courts and councils were established, dependent on the royal authority as they were created by it. And though the conflict between the particularism of the mediæval lordships and the centralizing authority of the new kingships hung long undetermined, the new absolutism gradually replaced the old. In so far as it was better administered, and affected all districts and all classes more equally, it received more and more support, until, within two centuries, it had virtually destroyed the old decentralizing feudal system in most parts of Europe. Only in the central powers, Germany and Italy, it found more than its match in the princes. These, while they maintained the same principles as the greater sovereigns, were equally unwilling to fuse their interests with those of the imperial authority and impotent to enlarge their principalities to embrace whole nationalities.

Absolutism and the national assemblies

Such was the contribution which the national kingships made to political practice by the beginning of the sixteenth century; and, however modified by time and circumstance, such it remained until it was displaced by a greater force,—for the principles of absolutism are among the oldest and most elementary in the government of men. Beside this problem of establishing unlimited authority and intimately connected with it, however, there was another element to be taken into account. Almost every European state of consequence possessed, in addition to the council, another body of advisers, inherited from the past, which had some share in the conduct of affairs. In France the States General, in Spain and Portugal the Cortes, in England the Parliament, in Poland the Diet, in Hungary the so-called Tables, thus played a part in the conduct of government, which varied with the strength or weakness of the classes above it.

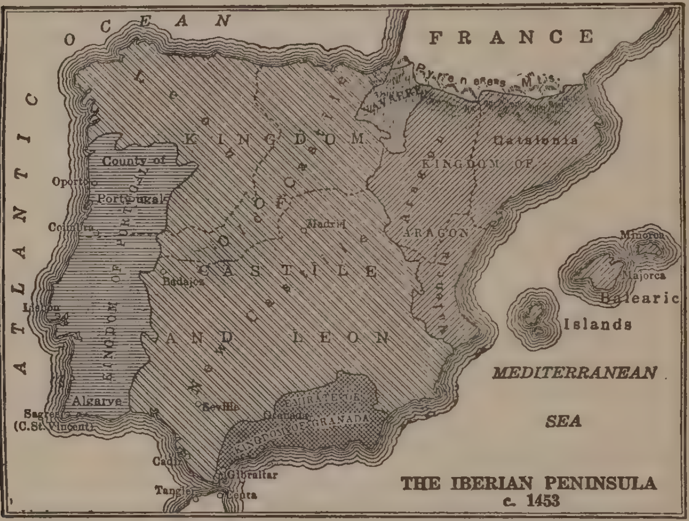
The royal houses, thus confronted with the opportunity to establish absolute power, found, therefore, two forces to be crushed or conciliated; and according to their circumstances or their strength, they proceeded to adjust their relations with nobles and people alike. The council, which became the chief engine of their authority, was now transformed, so far as possible, into an administrative rather than a mere advisory body of great nobles; and, establishing other like bodies in the various parts of the kingdom, brought the power of the crown to bear directly on every part of the realm. As royal administration became the central fact in every department of government, whatever authority the more general if not more popular assemblies possessed tended to become subordinate to the higher power.

Their opinion was sought for less and less. As royal power grew they were more and more disregarded, till, save perhaps in England, they became almost a negligible quantity. They were called less and less frequently, and though their members and the classes which they represented struggled, often with violence, against the neglect and even the extinction of the last representative of that popular element which nearly every European state had possessed, the sixteenth century was to see the gradual decline of most of these bodies. Thus, however great the gain to the commonalty by the suppression of feudalism as a principle of administration, that gain was accompanied by a loss of most of those slender privileges which the towns in particular had earlier enjoyed; and Europe entered on her long experiment with absolutist kingships, stimulated by the spirit of nationality indeed, but sacrificing its popular liberties to the dynastic interests as the price of its release from feudal tyranny.

Spain—the Councils and the Inquisition

The most conspicuous example of this situation was found in Spain. There the accession of Ferdinand the Catholic had been accompanied by the establishment of a series of councils, for Castile, for Aragon, for Naples, and, after Columbus' exploit, for the New World. These at once limited the authority of the great nobles and ecclesiastics, who composed the group of advisers to the crown in the hands of his predecessors, and relegated the Cortes to a still lower plane in the affairs of state. To this, in Spanish hands, was added another element, dictated in part by the situation of the peninsula and in part by the spirit which that situation had done much to produce. The tribunal of the Holy **1479-**

Office, or Inquisition, established in the thirteenth century to stamp out heresy, had played no part in England, little in France, and less in Germany and the east. Its chief stronghold had been in Italy, but, reorganized under Ferdinand in Spain, it became an engine of both royal and ecclesiastical supremacy. Its earliest efforts had been directed against heretics in general; but it soon became a useful weapon against any whose tendency to adopt the newer principles of thought, whether religious or political, marked them out as dangerous to the old order. Its secrecy, its terrible penalty of the auto-da-fé, whose *Cinemaderos* or cremation places claimed their victims almost daily, made it a fearful symbol of the principle of terror invoked against those who ventured to differ from the establishment, and widened the breach between Spain and the liberal element in Europe.



THE IBERIAN PENINSULA
c. 1453

England However useful to the power of the crown the Inquisition proved in Spain and her dominions, it took no hold on the rest of Europe. But the political impulse which moved Ferdinand was no less strong among his contem-
1485- poraries. In England, Henry VII followed almost precisely the same course as his Spanish contemporary, and though

the Parliament was too strong to be treated in the same fashion as the Cortes, it lost much of the power it had enjoyed under the house of Lancaster. In like measure the sovereigns of other realms, from France to Muscovy, entered upon the same course, and from consolidating their territories they turned to make their authority more absolute.

The dynastic interest

To this was added, almost immediately, another element, the so-called dynastic interest. Among the methods by which the unquestioned right to the throne and the amalgamation of territories in the various national states had been secured had been the matrimonial alliances of the houses which now came to direct the political destinies of Europe. By such means Castile had been united to Leon and to Aragon; by such means Brittany had been joined to the house of Capet; by such means Henry VII had confirmed his claim to the English crown, and the Hapsburg lands had been consolidated. It was but natural that this process should be extended. Scarcely was Henry VII on the English throne when he began that policy of marriage alliance with the houses of Aragon and Scotland which was to be of such great consequence in another generation. Scarcely had Ivan III begun his efforts to absorb the neighboring Slavic states when he entered on the same course. And, whatever the failures of Maximilian in emulating the successes of his contemporaries by consolidating the Empire, in the direction of his marriage policy he was the most fortunate of them all. His own marriage to the heiress of that ill-fated Charles the Bold of Burgundy, whose efforts to found a kingdom between France and the Empire had led to his defeat and death, had brought to the house of Hapsburg the greater part of the Burgundian inheritance, including those districts at the mouths of the Rhine and Scheldt known to later generations as the Netherlands. And the marriage of his son to the heiress of Spain brought into the hands of his successor the greatest territories which had been until then united under one crown.

While, then, Italian scholars and Portuguese adventurers were opening new avenues for Europe's intellect and ambitions to tread, the rulers of the continent effected a revolution in her political condition no less important and even more spectacular than the achievements of the sea-farers and men of letters. Different as were the circumstances of their peoples and their problems, their methods and their results were essentially the same. To each the fundamental issue was the substitution of a strong and centralized royal power for feudal arrangements, the consolidation of territory and rival lordships in one family, the creation, in so far as possible, of great national kingships over peoples of like kind, and the establishment of dynasties; in brief, the division of Europe vertically rather than horizontally.

Germany

In central Europe this was not wholly possible. Whatever the success of the dynastic policy, whatever the aggregation of lands under its dominion, in one direction the Hapsburg house was bound to fail. The dynastic overpowered the national principle and there began that accumulation of sovereignties which in another generation became the admiration and the terror of the European world. In England and France, as in Spain, Portugal, and Russia, the national idea became the leading motive, and the dynastic interest, however important, a secondary element. But in Germany and Italy, divided as they were among an infinity of petty principalities, neither the national nor the imperial interest prevailed. No single house—not even that of the Hapsburgs, to which the opportunity belonged—proved itself capable of compelling unity among the decentralizing forces which dominated those regions; and these areas remained aloof from the consolidating movement of the time. Their people, in consequence, lost that opportunity, so eagerly embraced by all but the disintegrating feudal elements, to secure a broader basis of sovereignty, with relatively greater power, possibility, and peace. Despite their disadvantages, which the immediate future was to demonstrate, the national kingships that now arose offered the average man the fairest promise of security which Europe had seen since the dream of universal empire had faded before the realities of feudalism. Upon the ambitions of these new kingships the political activities of Europe thenceforth chiefly turned.

The results of the national-dynastic system

The spirit which they revealed and the direction which their energies took were determined by two forces: the one was the tendency of young and vigorous political organisms to seek new fields of power outside their own boundaries, which has, at all times, proved an active element in political history; the other was the disturbed condition of certain districts of Europe, which offered a tempting opportunity to the ambitions of neighboring rulers. Thus the establishment of the national states was marked by the beginning of a great European war. Its scene was the region which even at that moment was leading the continent along new paths of intellectual and artistic achievement, the Italian peninsula, and the chief antagonists were the two states which had thus far best expressed the principle of national kingship, Spain and France. Scarcely had Charles VIII finally united France by his marriage with Anne of Brittany when he asserted his claims to Italian territory, and, invited by the Italians themselves, made the center of the Renaissance movement the battlefield of the continent. Thus, as the first result of a century-long movement toward consolidation and absolutism, which had resulted in the formation of the national kingships, there began a conflict which was to endure in some form for more than three hundred years, only to be thwarted finally in its purpose of reducing Italy to a dependency of some power beyond the Alps.

CHAPTER V

EUROPEAN POLITICS. 1492-1521

The Italian Wars

Charles VIII's invasion of Italy

It was apparent before the news of Columbus' great discovery had been fully appreciated by European peoples that the continent had reached a crisis in its international affairs, and that the long development which had resulted in the formation of national states was about to produce some extraordinary changes unrelated either to the discovery of the western world or to the internal situation of the new political organisms now taking form. Two years after the return of the Discoverer from his first voyage, Maximilian I **1493-4** ascended the imperial throne, and Charles VIII of France led an army across the Alps to the invasion of Italy. With those events there began a period of European history different in nearly every respect from what had gone before, and destined to the most far-reaching results. The ensuing quarter of a century, in consequence, became an era of the highest importance in the political development of Europe, and Charles' enterprise the event which, like Columbus' discovery, inaugurated a new chapter in European history.

The situation of the continent in general, and of Italy in particular, lent itself to such exploits as that of the French king in a variety of ways, while, at the same time, it made the success of his adventure more than problematical. Spain, with the conquest of the Moors, the development of absolutism under Ferdinand, and the discovery of the western world, was now prepared to entertain designs of further conquest and take an active share in continental rivalries. England, though the cautious and politic Henry VII was still absorbed in consolidating his power at home, was not wholly averse to playing some part in that same field. And the

Emperor Maximilian, thwarted in his design of marrying Anne of Brittany, who had become the wife of the French king, desired not merely revenge for his affront, but the more substantial compensations of lands along the Rhine.

The political situation in the Italian peninsula

At the same time the situation of the Italian peninsula boded ill for the ultimate success of such an enterprise, whatever the immediate political triumphs which it seemed to offer. Italy was then, as it was to remain for centuries, in a state of anarchy. Venice, Milan, Florence, Genoa, and Savoy, with lesser principalities like Parma and Piacenza, Mantua and Ferrara, disputed among themselves for supremacy in the north; while the Papal States in the center and the kingdom of Naples in the south added to the chaos of petty rivalry with which the peninsula was cursed. Not only was there no Italy, there were no Italians, and the doctrine of success at all costs had long since replaced any sentiment of patriotism even to the cities or states to which their inhabitants owed allegiance. For there was scarcely a petty sovereignty in Italy where the strife of party had not overpowered every other political consideration. Moreover, for years the land had been filled with mercenaries, the so-called *condottieri*, to whom war was a profession and treachery a trade. Revolt and conspiracy, feud and assassination, and petty war, in which the commonest incidents were betrayal and desertion, had long been the fate of the gifted people who revealed at once the highest triumphs of æsthetic genius and the lowest qualities of public and private morality.

Into such a maelstrom the young French king plunged, fired by dreams of territorial aggrandizement, even of reestablishing the kingdom of Jerusalem by a crusade against the Turkish power; and thus he embarked his nation upon an enterprise "for which neither his exchequer, his understanding, nor his preparations sufficed." But it took no long time to prove that, however easy it might be to win victories against his divided enemies, the conquest of Italy, or any considerable part of it, much less its retention by France, was one of the maddest enterprises which any European power had entertained since the English had been driven from France. And yet, like the English attempt against their own land, the French were to waste time, energy, lives, and treasure for a hundred years in an ambition as fruitless as it was costly. The Italians were no less fatuous in their quarrels among themselves. The Turks captured Otranto, their camp-fires were visible from Venice; yet neither that nor the French fury availed to prevent the fierce feuds of family with family, of state with state in the troubled peninsula. Least of all could Italy remain at peace when aspiring pontiffs, more eager to extend their family influence and their temporal power than to attend to the spiritual needs of the church they had been set to guard and direct, vied with the petty hatreds of local parties to betray the interests of the people who formed the most highly cultured society in Europe.

The long history of the Italian wars forms one of the most brilliantly romantic and one of the most barren chapters in European history. A sounder policy would have led Charles to oppose the designs of Maximilian on Franche Comté, wrest the post of Roussillon from Ferdinand, Calais from England, and so secure his frontiers against the enemies of France. But the adroit diplomacy of Ludovico Sforza diverted him from these substantial measures to pursue the elusive and costly domination of Italy. What was more disastrous to the interests of his country, the French king freed his hands for the Italian enterprise by ceding Cerdagne 1493 and Roussillon to Ferdinand and Franche Comté with Artois to Maximilian, a policy which was to cost France an infinity of blood and treasure in later generations to regain the places thus lightly abandoned.

"The Italian adventure"

The claims which he advanced to Italian sovereignty were first those of the house of Orleans which, by virtue of its descent from the heiress of the dispossessed house of Visconti in Milan, aspired to the rule of that rich province. To these were added the still older claims of the house of Anjou to the kingdom of Naples, held by the Aragonese family, with whom they had divided the ancient lands of Anjou, retaining only Provence and Anjou itself in the hands of the French crown. But it was rather in the rivalry between Milan and Naples that Charles saw his opportunity than in these shadowy dynastic pretensions. That rivalry was substantial enough, and the triple alliance of Naples, Florence, and Milan, which had broken down in the year of Columbus' discovery and the death of Lorenzo de Medici, laid Italy open to the invader. The astute but short-sighted duke of Milan, pursuing his designs against his Neapolitan rival, had first sought the aid of Maximilian, then turned to urge the French king to assert his right to Naples, and, securing his aid, plunged not only Italy but Europe into war. 1492

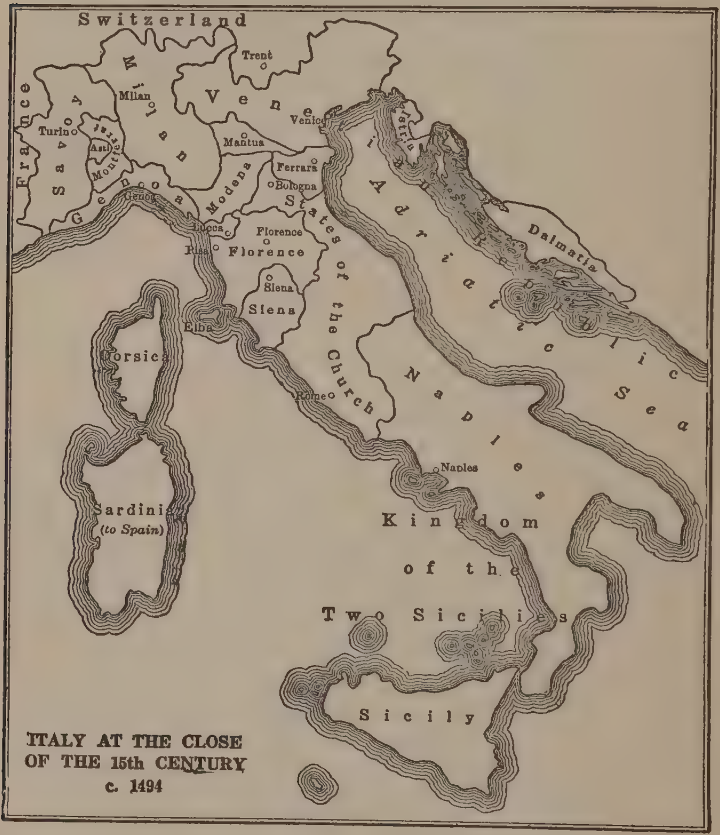
The French conquest

Charles' early operations, despite his own licentious incapacity, offered fair promise of achieving his ambitions. His motley force, French troops, Swiss mercenaries, and German lanzknechts, poured through the passes of the Alps into the territories of his ally, thence into Tuscany, without opposition. Piero de Medici hastened to submit to the invader, but his pliancy promptly cost him his throne, and the first result of Charles' enterprise was to make the Florentine ruler a fugitive. Presenting Pisa with its freedom from Florence, the French king proceeded to Florence, exacted a ransom from that city, went on to Siena, and so to Rome, where Alexander VI, compelled to abandon his alliance with Naples, gave up a part of Papal territories to Charles. Thence the French advanced against their chief objective, Naples, whose unpopular and cowardly ruler, Alfonso, abdicated and fled to Sicily, leaving his crown to his son, Ferrante. He, in turn, after some efforts to resist, was betrayed by his own generals, and followed his father. Thus, in five months, almost without a blow, the French king found himself in possession of Naples, a considerable number of lesser territories, and the dominance of Italy. 1494-5

Its collapse

Had Charles been possessed of his father's capacity, he might well have profited largely from so successful an enterprise, even had he not remained the master of the peninsula. But his feeble talents, his licentious habits, and, above all, perhaps, the open contempt for the Italians which he and his followers exhibited, roused the peninsula against him;

and scarcely had he secured his new inheritance when it began to slip from his hands. The Milanese ruler repented the folly which had brought the French into Italy and began to fear for his own position. The Pope, never friendly, was roused to further opposition by the dread that Charles might summon a general council. The Venetians, at first neutral, and not disinclined to see their neighbors in difficulties, began to entertain apprehensions of French domination. And among European rulers outside of Italy, Ferdinand of Spain suspected French designs on his appanage of Sicily; while the Emperor Maximilian, disturbed by the ascendancy



ITALY AT THE CLOSE OF THE 15th CENTURY c. 1494 of the house of Valois, was moved to join in limiting its power.

Scarcely was Charles' great prize within his grasp, therefore, when, to his own incapacity was added a powerful coalition against his power. Emperor and Pope, Spain, Venice, and Milan combined to form the League of Venice; and the French king, causing himself to be crowned, hastily began a retreat, already far too long delayed. Only the fidelity of Florence, the unwillingness of Milan to see too complete a victory over the invaders, and the undisciplined plundering instinct of the forces brought against him, saved the French king's forces from annihilation. They escaped, and with their departure Charles' conquests melted away, his garrisons were compelled to submit, his lieutenants expelled, and his authority brought to an end. Of all his gains, only the cities ceded to him by Florence remained, and these he bartered away in the course of the next few years. Of all the results which he achieved, the only one of any consequence was the weakening of the one Italian power which had remained faithful to his interests, Florence. **Nov. 1495**

Louis XII and Italy

It is not easy, even were it necessary, to determine the proportion of responsibility for an enterprise which absorbed the energies of a great part of Europe for more than a century. The obstinate ambitions of the French rulers who took part in it, the real if mistaken aspirations of the people who supported it, the treacherous folly of the Italian princes who called in the foreigner to their aid,—all these combined to produce that vast expenditure of energy and blood and treasure to little purpose. Nor did successive generations learn from experience; for the first chapter of that long adventure became a pattern for the whole. When, four years after his Italian expedition, Charles VIII died, he left his successor, Louis XII, a bad example and a heritage of war, both of which the new king eagerly embraced. Like his predecessor, he abandoned Franche Comté to Maximilian, like him he hastened to embark on the Italian enterprise. And, as before, Italy welcomed the invader. The League of Venice had fallen apart with the departure of the French. **1498**

The Pope and Venice had allied themselves with France, and Louis XII, having thus isolated his intended victim, the same Ludovico Sforza who had invited his predecessor to intervene against Naples, invaded Italy with even greater initial success. As before, Savoy gave them free passage. As before, they were reinforced by Swiss mercenaries; and, 1499 as Florence had earlier driven out Piero de Medici, so now, for different reasons, the Milanese compelled Ludovico to take refuge with the Emperor. Milan was surrendered to the French, Genoa followed suit, and, without a blow, Venice and France found themselves in possession of a great part of northern Italy.

Ferdinand and Italy

Nor did the resemblance to the earlier enterprise end here. Again the French put their own officers in charge. Again the Italians were antagonized; and when, six months after Louis' advent into the peninsula, Ludovico returned with an army, the French lost their possessions as quickly as they had gained them. Then, reinforced in turn, they defeated Ludovico, regained Milan, and prepared to attempt the conquest of Naples. But here they now encountered a more dangerous enemy. Ferdinand of Spain had looked with jealous eye upon the French ambitions. He had earlier warned Charles VIII against pressing too far in that direction; and he had restored the house of Aragon to the Neapolitan throne after Nov. 1500 the French withdrawal. Now he came to an agreement with Louis in regard to Naples, and, under pretext of a treaty with the Turks which had been negotiated by Federigo of Naples, the kings of France and Spain agreed to divide the Neapolitan lands between them.

With this secret treaty of Granada, first of those partition treaties which thenceforth played such a great part in European politics, the dynastic principle took its place in international affairs, in a form which was to endure from that day until the time when it was in some degree overpowered by the national spirit. For by its provisions whole districts and their inhabitants were transferred from one family to another, as one might sell a farm and its cattle. With this extension of the feudal principle into a far wider field, it was apparent that, unless other forces should operate to check its activity, the unfortunate people had but exchanged a feudal for a national serfdom.

France and Spain

Almost immediately the agreement was put into effect. The French, welcomed by the Pope, who denounced the Neapolitan king as an enemy of Christendom for making an agreement with the Turk, overran the northern part of Naples; the Spaniards, under the "Great Captain," Gonsalvo de Cordova, the conqueror of Granada, landed in the south, and the unfortunate Neapolitan royal family, thus beset, were driven into exile. But scarcely was this accomplished when the conquerors, naturally enough, found themselves irreconcilably opposed to each other, and there began a Franco-Spanish war of an extraordinary character. On the one side it partook of the old spirit of chivalry which found expression in tournaments and single combats, and added the names of Paredes and Bayard to the roll of knightly champions and a brilliant chapter to romance. On the other it ushered in the age of the great professional soldier, of whom the French D'Aubigny and the Spanish Gonsalvo became the great exemplars. And thus, as the expiring spirit of mediæval chivalry flamed up in a last gleam of brilliance, Europe entered upon a new phase of dynastic international rivalry. **1502-3**

From the beginning the result was scarcely in doubt. The French were driven from Naples; and the rivalry between France and the Empire over the Burgundian possessions added Maximilian to the active enemies of Louis, thus dividing his energies and strength. Though, after his first repulse, the French king essayed twice more the fatal adventure of Italian invasion, and even succeeded in annexing Genoa, Naples remained in the hands of Ferdinand. The League of Cambrai, formed between the French king, the Emperor, the king of Spain, and the Pope, to despoil Venice of her mainland possessions, witnessed another step in the dynastic policy. It revealed, too, the same spirit which had animated Italian politics since Charles VIII's invasion, and which was to be for generations the peculiar character- **1508**

istic of that long rivalry. In turn that alliance gave way
1511 to the Holy League, formed of the Pope, Ferdinand, Venice, and Switzerland, to expel the French. On that rock broke the ambitions of Louis XII; and at his death he bequeathed
1515 to his successor, Francis I, only what he had inherited from Charles VIII—an ambitious and futile foreign policy.

The results of the Italian wars

Such were the principal events in European politics which filled the years when Spain and Portugal were achieving and consolidating their positions in the world outside, and the Renaissance turned the finest spirits of the continent to intellectual and artistic triumphs. So far as their ultimate results were concerned, the Italian wars were no less futile than their immediate circumstances were dramatic. They checked the ambitions of Venice on the mainland, and, with the concurrent attacks of the Turks upon her Adriatic posts, they brought her long ascendancy within sight of its fall. They established Ferdinand of Aragon as the master of Naples, and raised the Papacy to the height of its ill-fated temporal power. They passed on a long heritage of war to succeeding generations, and introduced into European affairs that Franco-Hapsburg rivalry which was to run a course of more than three hundred years of armed conflict.
1499 Beyond these hollow results they were as barren of advantage to the progress of the world as the concurrent accession of Ismail Shah Sufi to the throne of Persia, and his ensuing wars with the Turks, which, at least, relieved in some degree the pressure which the Ottoman power was exerting upon the European world. They were of much less importance to the cause of civilization than the break-up of that Golden
c. 1500 Horde of Mongols in southern Russia and the consequent decline of the Tartar suzerainty over the Muscovites, which occurred during these same years. Beside the activities of the Spaniards and the Portuguese beyond the confines of Europe, these kaleidoscopic changes in Italian politics, with all their contemporary interest, were insignificant; and in comparison with the concurrent intellectual progress of the continent they were contemptible.

Far more important were the efforts of the greater rulers of Europe to unify their dominions and to increase the power of royalty. Whether, like Maximilian, they failed, or like Ferdinand, Henry VII, Charles VIII, and Ivan III, they succeeded, they accomplished two things. They went far toward breaking the political power of the mediæval feudal baronage, and they set before Europe the ideal of nationalism under absolute kingship. And this, in the last result, became the mold in which all of the continent, save Germany and Italy, was cast. Thenceforth its politics, for the most part, revolved upon the relations which came to be, in fact as in name, for the first time international. They were, indeed, still dynastic, and in no real sense popular. But they formed that transition from mediæval to modern polity which, like the intellectual revolution and the oversea expansion that accompanied them, marks the beginning of a new age. For with them, even in the futile Italian adventure, there was revealed the spirit which has dominated men in their political capacity from that day to the present, that elusive but powerful force which we call nationality.

Absolutism and internationalism

In that development, as in so many other movements which went to make up the sum of European progress toward a modern world, the dozen years which followed the accession of Henry VIII to the English throne in 1509 formed a peculiarly important period, with its changes of personnel and policy among European rulers. Four years after Henry assumed the English crown, the ambitious and warlike Julius II, "the founder of the Papal States," was succeeded by the son of Lorenzo de Medici, the luxurious and pleasure-loving Leo X, who brought to his new office many of the qualities which had made Florence the center of the Renaissance. Scarcely had he begun to give the Papal power a new impress when Ferdinand the Catholic and Louis XII passed from the scene of their earthly activities, leaving to their successors, the shrewd, phlegmatic Charles I, and the vain, ostentatious Francis I, their respective kingdoms and the long heritage of Italian rivalry. Three years later Maximilian was succeeded by his grandson, the king of Spain, who took the imperial throne as Charles V. Thus, almost simultane-

Changes in rulers

1509-21

1513

1515-16

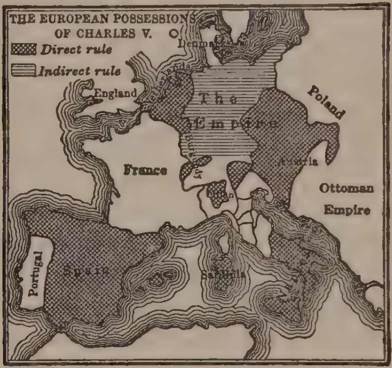
1519

ously, Europe saw the advent of three young, ambitious sovereigns, upon whose relations the political fortunes of the ensuing generation were to turn, and with them the beginnings of a fresh realignment of forces and policies.

Charles V

1519-56

The greatest and the most conspicuous of these were personified in the Emperor, Charles V. Important as the reign of Henry VIII was to be to England, and that of Francis I to France, the circumstances of the continent and of his inheritance made Charles inevitably the focus of affairs. From his mother he inherited Spain, America, and Sicily; from his father the lands of Hapsburg and Burgundy. On him, in consequence, devolved the widest realm Europe had ever seen. His long rule touched its achievements on every side. The continent trembled at the fear of universal sovereignty; and he was called, not without cause, "the Lord of the World" by a generation in which he played the leading part.



In his domains the Reformation took its rise; his power defended, then attacked the Pope, and finally decreed religious peace. His son's marriage to the Infanta of Portugal brought him in touch with that nation's future. His aunt's divorce by Henry VIII bound up his fortunes with the English change of faith. Half of Italy became an appanage of his house, and he took part in all the complicated politics of that long-vexed peninsula. Against his wide-encroaching power, Francis I of France entered a life-long struggle and waged four great wars. To these he summoned the aid of the reviving Turkish energies, which, having overpowered Egypt and begun to absorb the long line of Europe's old Mediterranean outposts, the Venetian factories, again pressed hard on Christendom. In consequence, Charles twice invaded Africa and twice fought the Turks, as Spain and the Empire became the bulwark against the Ottoman. And while his subjects conquered the New World and sailed around the earth, religion and politics, European and colonial affairs were, in his day, and partly at his hands, inextricably joined.

Charles V, Francis I, and Henry VIII

For the moment, indeed, the weight of the responsibilities which was about to devolve upon him and the people of Europe generally was scarcely felt, and the first years of the new sovereigns were filled with rivalries inherited from the past. And if there is one circumstance more surprising than another in the history of these eight years in which her leadership was being altered, it is the ignorance or indifference of the rulers of Europe in general to the signs of coming change which were already apparent on every hand. In the field of international politics the Italian wars maintained their earlier importance. Hardly was the English king upon his throne when he was drawn into their far-reaching complexities. He became a member of the so-called Holy League, formed by Julius II to drive the French from Italy. 1511 He was given the title of the Most Christian King by the Pope and persuaded to revive the old and futile policy of English dominion in France. With Maximilian's 1513 aid he attacked Louis XII and won the "battle of the spurs," at Guinegate. In Henry's absence—so far did the baneful influence of the Italian adventure spread—the unfortunate James IV of Scotland, urged on by France, invaded England, only to meet defeat and death at Flodden Field, and thus unwittingly take the first step in that long history which ended in the union of the two kingdoms.

Francis I and Italy

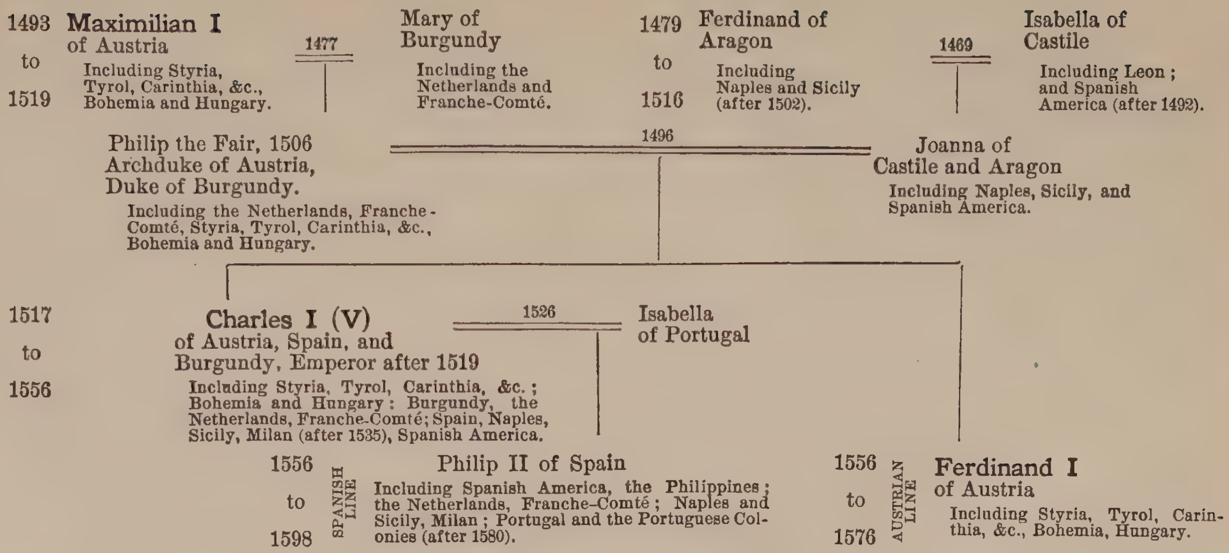
France followed the same course. Scarcely was Francis I crowned when he took up the Italian policy which his predecessors had bequeathed to him, and the first five years of his long and warlike reign was spent in the pursuit of that phantom sovereignty. Like Charles and Louis, he was at first successful, and the campaign which culminated in the battle of Marignano gave Genoa and Milan into his hands. 1515 But hardly was this accomplished when the election of Charles to the imperial throne threatened France with the greatest danger she had faced since the victories of Henry V a hundred years before. Throughout their long frontiers, from the debatable kingdom of Navarre, through Italy, and along the Rhine, France and the Hapsburg power found themselves in opposition at almost every point. With his possessions on the continent, his dominion oversea, and his family alliances, Charles V hemmed in the French on every side. It is not surprising that, apart from personal ambitions, Francis found ample cause for fear of universal sovereignty and the extinction of an independent France; or that, after the lull which followed his first Italian war, he devoted the energies of a lifetime to conflict with Charles V.

But it was not in this great adventure, as events were soon to prove, that there lay the real current of European development which to the eyes of these young rulers partook rather of the past than of the future. The new reigns began, indeed, much as the old had ended; and in them, save for the fantastic efforts of Henry VIII to be elected Emperor and secure the Papacy for his adviser, Cardinal Wolsey, there seemed small promise of any striking changes in the political development of Europe apart from the progress of absolutism which succeeded the consolidation of the greater states.

The Age of Charles V

Yet the briefest summary of the activities in which the young Emperor was to be involved in the course of his long eventful reign reveals the fact that few periods of European history have been so epoch-making as the generation in which he was the most conspicuous figure in the world. For those years saw a revolt against Papal authority which shook the foundations not alone of the church but of politics and society, dividing men into hostile communions, armed camps, and, more enduring still, opposing schools of thought. They saw the imperial power endeavor again and again to unite Germany, and the spirit of national absolutism rend the continent time after time with its rivalries. They saw a tremendous influx of precious goods and metals, a shifting of the older currents of trade into new channels, and an increase of capital alter the economic basis of the European world. And, far beyond the confines of the continent itself

THE HAPSBURGS, 1500–1600


1493 to 1519 Maximilian I of Austria
Including Styria, Tyrol, Carinthia, &c., Bohemia and Hungary.
1477
Mary of Burgundy
Including the Netherlands and Franche-Comté.
1479 to 1516 Ferdinand of Aragon
Including Naples and Sicily (after 1502).
1469
Isabella of Castile
Including Leon; and Spanish America (after 1492).
Philip the Fair, 1506 Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy.
Including the Netherlands, Franche-Comté, Styria, Tyrol, Carinthia, &c., Bohemia and Hungary.
1496
Joanna of Castile and Aragon
Including Naples, Sicily, and Spanish America.
1517 to 1556 Charles I (V) of Austria, Spain, and Burgundy, Emperor after 1519
Including Styria, Tyrol, Carinthia, &c.; Bohemia and Hungary: Burgundy, the Netherlands, Franche-Comté; Spain, Naples, Sicily, Milan (after 1535), Spanish America.
1526
Isabella of Portugal
1556 to 1598 SPANISH LINE Philip II of Spain
Including Spanish America, the Philippines; the Netherlands, Franche-Comté; Naples and Sicily, Milan; Portugal and the Portuguese Colonies (after 1580).
1556 to 1576 AUSTRIAN LINE Ferdinand I of Austria
Including Styria, Tyrol, Carinthia, &c., Bohemia, Hungary.

To illustrate the development of the dynastic principle. See map of the European possessions of Charles V., p. 142.

they saw an Arab trading empire of the East replaced by that of Portugal; great civilizations in the western hemisphere discovered and destroyed by Spain; the world encircled by a single ship; "and every year reveal new wonders and new lands."

As the center of European activities shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, and the weight of Asia and America was thrown into the European scale, its balance was altered for all time. As the past was uncovered and the reforming movement spread, the spiritual and the intellectual foundations of the continent were profoundly changed. The deeds of living conquerors which far outshone those of the heroes of romance, the achievements of scholars and men of letters, of artists and artisans, which began to challenge the triumphs of the ancient world, stimulated Europe's thought and imagination to fresh adventures. At the same time the outworn framework of mediæval society and intellect broke down under the pressure of these new influences; and Europe's energies were rallied to develop a new system to take its place. The older principles of service and exchange, based on land and kind, gave way to those of money and day wages, labor and capital. And this movement, partly begun, partly accelerated by a huge tidal wave of sudden wealth from oversea, which all but blotted out the earlier landmarks of polity and finance, laid the foundations of a new economy. From the decaying feudal and imperial régime arose the national governments. Beside the Greek and Roman Catholic establishments the Protestant confessions took their stand. The promise of two centuries was fulfilled, and Europe, gradually secularized in thought and deed, expanding no less intellectually than territorially, turned from mediæval concepts and practices toward the ideals of a modern world.

The end of the middle ages

If this was not enough to absorb her energies, these great achievements took place amid bitter conflicts between sovereigns and states striving for mastery, and in the face of attacks from the Turks, who proved almost as great a hindrance to the progress of civilization as the ambitions of the rulers of the Christian world. Yet those antagonisms were not without their significance. For they were inseparable from the process by which Europe was set in the way which led to the divisions which have, in general, maintained themselves as the basis of national and international relationships and made modern Europe what it is. For, with all its infinite complexities, and the long conflicts which have modified its boundaries, the principle of national states has proved preferable, on the whole, to that system of theoretical unity and practical chaos which it supplanted. And in it, no less than in the other manifestations of social activity, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries laid the foundations of another age.

CHAPTER VI

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. 1498-1521

If history is to concern itself with events which absorb the attention of society at any given moment, irrespective of their importance for the future, it is apparent that the Italian wars would form the chief theme of any account of the quarter of a century which lay between the death of Lorenzo de Medici in 1492 and the accession of Charles I of Spain as the Emperor Charles V in 1519. But if the question of permanent value is to be considered, it is no less apparent that the activities of the powers which had found their way to Asia and America in those years overshadow even the achievements of de Foix, Bayard, or even the "Great Captain," Gonsalvo de Cordova himself, to say nothing of the general continental policy of the masters whom they served. For the problem which lay before those states which had burst through the charmed circle that had so long separated Europe from the world outside was, in a sense, the future of the extra-European world. Already it had taken on a twofold aspect which it was to keep to the end. On the one hand was the task of maintaining and improving the position they had won; on the other was the extension of their ancient rivalry to the farthest corners of the earth. After the manner of their kind, therefore, they hastened to strengthen and enlarge their power oversea, and at the same time endeavored to forestall each other in acquiring title to as much of this great inheritance as possible.

Columbus —his third voyage

The chief burden of this contest naturally fell first upon him who had led the way to the western hemisphere. Columbus was not averse to this extension of his activities, yet it was peculiarly unfortunate for him. The difficulties of the situation, Spanish inexperience, and his own incapacity made success hopeless. His supporters clamored for returns on their investments. The crown licensed voyages in defiance of his chartered rights, and the settlers antagonized the natives by their lust and violence. Powerless to quell the turmoil, the Admiral took refuge in exploration; and, setting out on a third voyage in the days that da Gama was loading spices in Malabar, and Savonarola met a martyr's death in Florence, he found a new island, Trinidad, and the South American continent, with its mighty river, the Orinoco.

1498

His return and disgrace

But he was as little able to grasp the significance of his exploits as to insure wealth and order to the new settlement. A vessel of the rich and powerful mainland peoples which he met did not enlighten him, and the shipload of natives he sent back as slaves was received with misgiving and presently returned. A mistaken martinet, Bobadilla, despatched to restore order, threw Columbus and his brother in chains and carried them to Spain as disturbers of colonial peace. And though he was released and his injuries for the most part redressed, thenceforth the Admiral sank gradually into something of the obscurity from which he had risen: his fame secure, but his fortune declined. Vain, impracticable, inexperienced in affairs, neither a conqueror nor an administrator, he could not control the spirit he evoked, and the world went past him. To the end he remained an explorer. Latterly he became a mystic; his energies absorbed in maintaining his rights against encroachment, and in seeking new lands. One voyage was left to him, his fourth, on which he discovered Honduras and followed the continental coast southward past the Equator. Returning late in 1504, he found Spain torn by contending factions, amid whose tumults, after some months, he died, almost unnoticed.

1500

—his fourth voyage —and death 20 May 1506

His later life and position

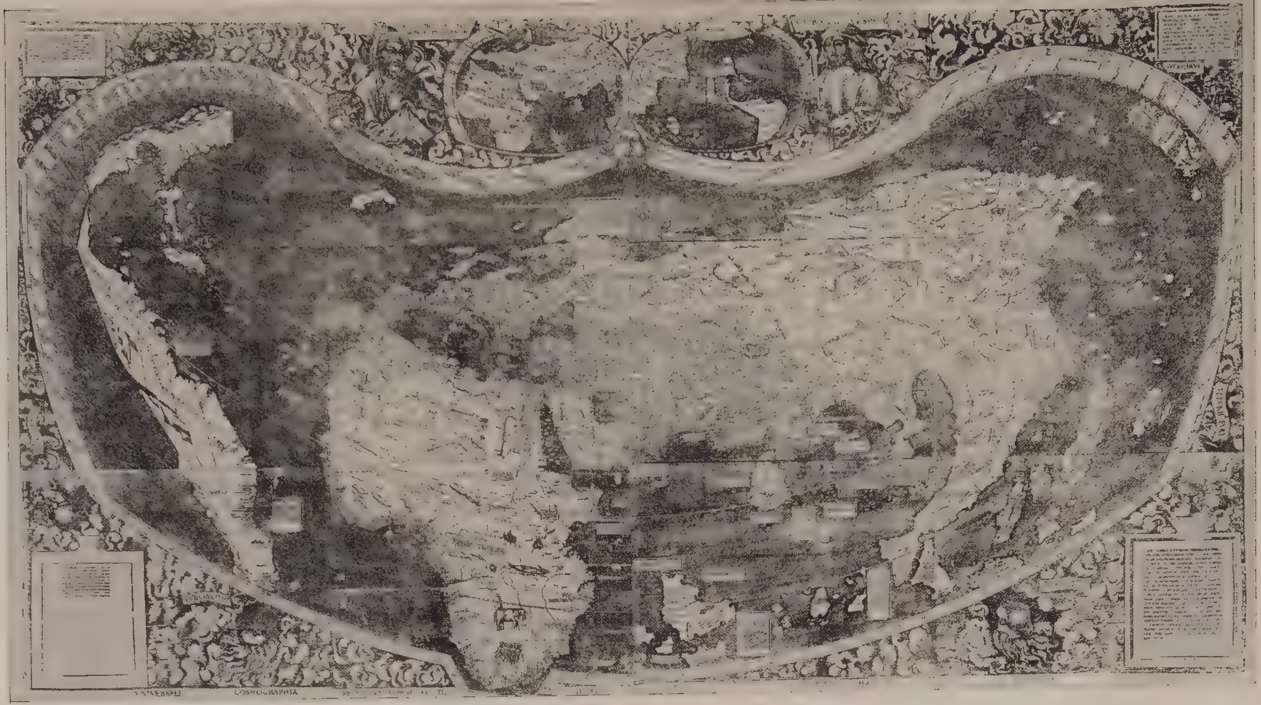
What the world he found really was he never knew. To him it was always Asia; toward the end it became something more. Exposure and exertion told on his health, and his mind seems to have been affected by the strain and the tremendous stimulus of his achievement. Embittered by the inadequacy of rewards which, had they been infinitely greater, would still have seemed to him far from his deserts, he came to be haunted by dreams of an older cosmogony.

The earth appeared to him in the shape of a pear; the Orinoco as a river of life, flowing from a central region which reflected vague traditions of Paradise; himself a Bringer of Salvation, and a revealer of divine secrets. Perhaps anticipated in his exploit by forgotten seamen; certainly not original in his conception; and followed so closely by independent discoverers like Cabral as to make it evident that, had he never sailed, his great discovery would have been made by others; the distinction still remains to him of being the first to demonstrate to all the world the transatlantic passage and the lands beyond. His initial exploit promised to make him the greatest figure of his generation, but his character and abilities were unequal to the situation he created, and the exploitation of America fell to other hands.

The companions and successors of Columbus

Close in his wake a swarm of adventurers had poured across the sea seeking wealth, licensed explorers, his own companions first of all; and beside them unlicensed interlopers, ignoring royalty and grant alike. In the year of da Gama's return there sailed the reckless Cavalier Ojeda, with Columbus' map-maker, Juan de la Cosa. With them went a merchant-adventurer, Amerigo Vespucci, whose later writings brought the New World to European attention to such effect that, through the suggestion of a German geographer, there was attached to it the name America instead of that of its discoverer. Christening a region which they found Venezuela, apparently from some fancied resemblance to Venice, and fetching home two hundred natives of Bahama as slaves, this expedition was followed closely by others of like sort. Alonzo Niño, whose family had furnished the *Niña* to the first voyage; Vincente Pinzon, the *Niña's* old commander; Diego Lepe, with Columbus' former pilot, Roldan; and others, known and unknown, seeking gold and pearls and a sea-way to Asia, increased the knowledge brought back by the great discoverer. But neither he nor his successors found that fabled strait. In the western world, at Columbus' death, the Spaniards knew only the islands and the northern coast of South America. Of the great

1499-



This is a greatly reduced facsimile of the map published by Martin Waldseemüller or "Ilacomilus" in 1513, "according," as the lower inscription says, "to the tradition of Ptolemy and the travels of Americus Vespucius." The European-Asiatic-African land-mass of Ptolemy (left-hand insert above) has been partially corrected by Portuguese exploration, in the large map; and the western hemisphere, with the Asiatic east coast (right-hand insert above), has been added from Spanish and Portuguese discoveries. It will be noted that the territories about the Gulf of Mexico and the north Brazilian coast are fairly accurate, beyond is "incognita." This map is notable not only for its admirable execution and its distinguished author, but for the fact that it first christens the New World *America*, and it is probably due to Waldseemüller's maps, more than to any other single cause, that the western land-mass has retained this name rather than that of its discover.

continent to the north, of the mainland with the rich empires of the interior, as of the ocean beyond, they had scarcely a hint.

Beginnings of Spanish-American colonization

If the progress of their knowledge had been slow, that of their colony had been slower still. Of all the native tribes they might have met, the simple Aruacs, the furthest outpost of their race which covered much of the southern continent, were probably the mildest and least advanced of any peoples which the Europeans had yet encountered. But even these resented the cruelty and oppression of the rough adventurers, so eminently ill-fitted to exploit a new world with justice, or with lasting benefit to it or to their country. They quarreled constantly among themselves and with their governors only less than with the natives, and not until the coming of Nicolas Ovando as governor, some ten years after the first discovery, did real social and economic order begin. Even so, its progress was extremely slow. Lesser settlements, indeed, sprang up beside Isabella and Santo Domingo; the washing of stream-sands yielded a little gold; while clearings made with native or with negro labor afforded space for agriculture, to which the introduction of the sugar-cane gave fresh impetus.

1502

Organization of the Spanish colonial system

As the second decade of Spanish activity in America began, another circumstance did much to determine its future. The crown, forced by the exigencies of the situation resulting from Columbus' discoveries to take measures to regulate American affairs, had named a canon of Seville, Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, as colonial agent-general, and for ten years he had been virtually colonial minister. Now, with Seville as the center of colonial affairs, and this astute churchman as the director of the fortunes of Spain's empire oversea, his office began to expand into the all-powerful Casa de la Contratacion, modeled on the lines of the Portuguese Casa da India, which was meanwhile rising to the control of eastern commerce in the neighboring kingdom. The Casa was constituted to supervise all trade and licenses, vessels and cargoes, but by Ovando's time the council found it necessary to outline a scheme of government. From his capital of Santo Do-

1402-1503

mingo the governor was empowered to administer the affairs of the islands and the mainland not otherwise assigned, to preserve order, to convert but not to maltreat the natives, to force them to work the mines but to ensure their payment, to exclude Jews and Moors, to import negro slaves, and to reserve to the crown its moiety of the gold thus mined. With the governor were despatched a judge, twelve Franciscans, and a company of soldiers, and thus, with its three permanent elements, officials, clergy, and army, formal administration in the New World began.

Slavery

Thus, too, began the most difficult of colonial problems, labor, the native, and the negro. On this no nation spent more thought than Spain. Theologians were summoned to counsel whether the Indians had souls like Europeans, half souls, or no souls at all, since on this depended their status and usage; and when it was determined that they had real souls, the government took steps to save them and to preserve the bodies which housed them. Those sent to Spain were presently returned, laws passed to put the natives under civil and ecclesiastical protection and control, and missionary work began. The more cruel customs were checked, tribute of girls and forced labor without pay was forbidden, no arms nor liquor were to be sold to them, and they were permitted to trade and cultivate and raise cattle. Moreover, under Spanish oversight, the native caciques were to retain their old authority; and in each district, under the supervision of the priest, the Indians were permitted to choose their own alcalde or judge, their fiscal or attorney, and their regidor or administrator. In brief, the new subjects were to be protected, Christianized, and in so far as possible, civilized; while the Spanish municipal system was to be extended to the New World, in the hope that it would presently produce a civilization, if not a society, like that of Spain. Such were the earliest European plans to establish power in America.

Difficulties of Spain's situation

It was a great ideal, but the very laws enacted to carry out these plans revealed the fundamental difficulties of a problem which has at all times created sharp differences between those interested in the moral side of tropical exploitation and those interested primarily in its financial aspects. The native races were unwilling or unfit to adapt themselves to systems devised by European conquerors, the home government found its plans hampered by a situation which has since become the commonplace of tropical administration. The colonists cared little for justice in comparison with gold; profits rather than civilization or salvation was their aim. The mother country was a long way off, the natives close at hand; and they evaded, neglected, or defied the law, in their endeavor to make quick fortunes. The society they framed was that of a dominant race, basing its economic strength upon the labor of a weaker class; founded, like most later experiments in the same field, on virtual slavery. When, seventeen years after his father's first voyage, Diego Columbus went out as governor of Santo Domingo, the mold was made in which the Spanish empire was to be cast; and which, in some form, was to be the pattern thenceforth for tropical exploitation by all other powers.

Portuguese discovery

The contribution made by Spain to the fast-widening sphere of European influence during her first quarter of a century in America was but slight. Compared with what Portugal had meanwhile accomplished in the East, it seemed almost contemptible. For, with da Gama's return his people 1499 had waked from their lethargy, and their activity in the ensuing twenty years became the wonder of the world. Hard on his arrival, hoping still to anticipate the Spaniards by discovering the coveted western sea-way to Asia, their first concern was to despatch expeditions to find the fabled Northwest Passage. Thus Gaspar de Cortereal explored Newfound- 1500 land, Labrador, the "land of the Bretons," and the "land of codfish," along the north Atlantic coast of North America; and, on his second voyage, lost his life as the first victim of that long-lived delusion. He was not the only one to whom such a task was intrusted, and the widening bounds of their successive maps of that quarter of the world record the efforts of their now unknown explorers in that hopeless quest.

Cabral and Brazil

1500

These efforts were not entirely vain, for but a scant two years after de Gama's voyage, Pedralvarez Cabral, sent out with an armada of thirteen ships and some twelve hundred men to seize the eastern trade, and bearing far to the southwest under the pilotage of Bartholomew Diaz, to avoid the Guinea passage, by accident or design, sighted land beyond that reached by Pinzon three months before. This he claimed for Portugal under the name of Santa Cruz and sent a vessel back with news of its discovery. Thus with his exploit the greatest of all Portugal's colonial possessions, Brazil, was brought under her influence, and Spain's new-born monopoly was broken in the western hemisphere.

The Portuguese attack on India

1501

1502-03

Nor was the advent of Cabral in India of less consequence, for with it began a fresh chapter of expansion and of the relations of Europe with Asia. He compelled the Zamorin of Calicut to grant permission to set up a trading-post. But this first of European factories in the East was soon destroyed by Arab hostility; and it became apparent that Portugal must fight to gain a share of that great commerce which she coveted. Cabral was quick to accept the challenge. Sinking ten Moorish ships at Calicut, he sailed to Cochin, secured a cargo there, established a factory, and so turned homeward to rouse his countrymen to a fresh crusade. Before he reached Lisbon another Portuguese force had come to blows with Calicut; and on its way back to Portugal it crossed da Gama's formidable armada going out to avenge his wrongs and make good his master's claim to the rights of trade in the Indian seas. Up the east coast of Africa and across to Malabar; bombarding Quiloa and imposing tribute; capturing and burning pilgrim ships bound to Mecca and rice boats from Coromandel; forcing the rulers of the Malabar coast to grant him a monopoly of trade and renounce their connection with Calicut and Egypt, da Gama laid down the lines upon which was to be fought the first great conflict between the West and the farther East.

Fired by these events, the Portuguese bent every energy to the great adventure to which their chivalry flocked in search of glory and wealth; while the Arab trading powers rallied their forces with those of Calicut to defend their commerce and their faith. Marked by the heroic episodes and the fearful cruelties incident to a religious war, this bloody conflict went on with increasing fury. Fleet after 1503- fleet, "flocks of sea-eagles, eager for the spoil," hurried to the East, bearing adventurers, "mad for wealth and war," and the fortunes of the conflict shifted from side to side with bewildering rapidity, till the heroic defense of Cochin by the "Portuguese Achilles," Duarte Pacheco, turned the tide in favor of the invaders. The Zamorin was defeated and part of his city destroyed; "Portuguese vengeance" visited on the hostile Arabs and their native allies; and Mohammedan power in Malabar was crushed. From trading-voyage to permanent post, from commercial rivalry to holy 1506 war, within eight years Portugal became the most feared and hated power in the Indian seas, fair on the way to the monopoly of the carrying trade between the East and West.

Portugal and the Mohammedan world

But she soon found that she had overthrown one set of antagonists only to be confronted by far more dangerous foes. Every interest of the Indian world and of powers far outside its boundaries roused to resist the Portuguese peril. The Mohammedan states of northwestern India about Diu; the Arab sultan of Egypt, his revenues diminished and his faith insulted by the invaders; the Turks; even the Venetians were summoned to oppose these daring adventurers. Yet this did not daunt the Portuguese. The Sultan threatened the Papacy with the destruction of the holy places of Palestine, the Sepulchre itself, but the king of Portugal retorted to the Pope's ambassador that none in Europe did their duty on the infidel more manfully than his subjects, and no Mohammedan threat would check the new crusade. And so far from drawing back, the Portuguese extended their plans of conquest.

Almeida 1505

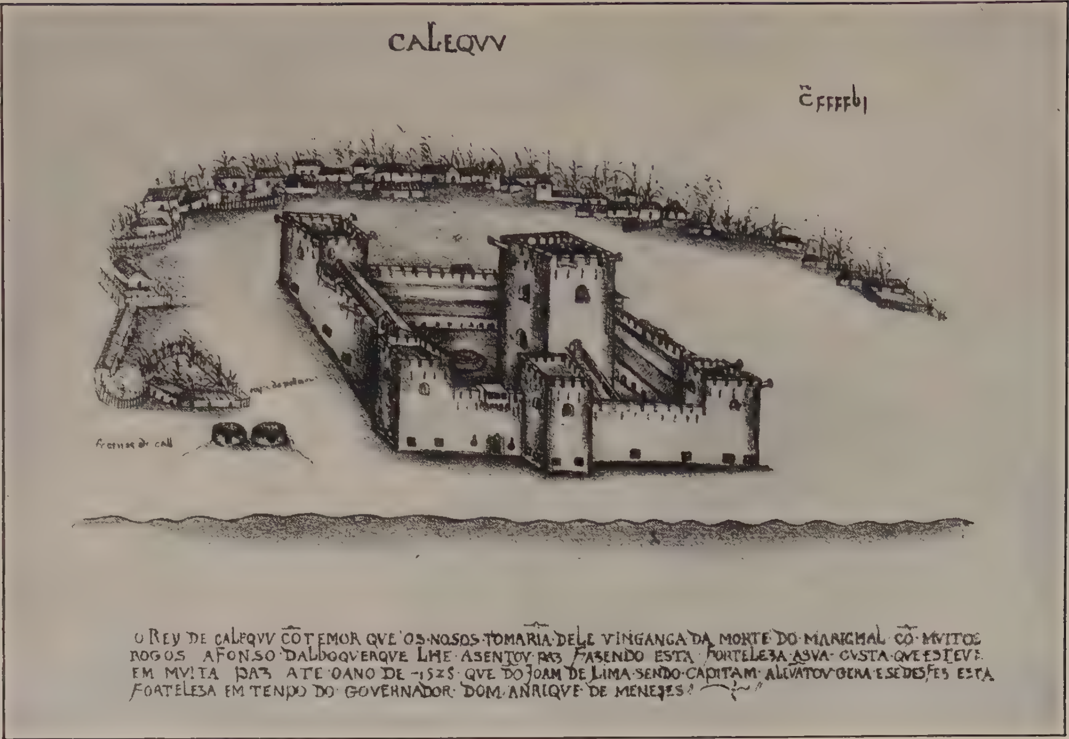
To this end Francisco Almeida was despatched to establish permanent bases on the east African coast, and a regular pilot-service thence to India. His second task, the suppression of Arab power in Malabar, had been largely accomplished by his predecessors. The third, to overthrow the Moslem domination of the sea, remained. To strengthen his hands, to mark the altered policy and permanent purpose of Portugal, he had been commissioned Viceroy of India; for Portuguese power now aspired to the mastery of the Indian Ocean and the ways thither. To that end a fleet was sent out to remain in permanence, and plans were formed to seize the keys of navigation; Aden to control the Red Sea; Ormuz to command the Persian Gulf; Malacca to secure the Straits and the way to the Spice Islands and farther Asia; and a capital on Malabar.

Portugal's triumph 1505-

With these far-reaching plans Almeida was not wholly in accord. It seemed enough to him to hold the sea against the Mohammedan power which from Calicut to Cairo was combining to crush the Portuguese. To lesser men even that task would have seemed insuperable, and only after the most incredible exertions was it accomplished. Almeida's brief viceroyalty was signalized by almost incessant conflict on the sea, the brunt of which was borne by his gallant son Lorenzo, who in three successive years crushed the Zamorin's forces, compelled the submission of Ceylon, and met defeat and death in striving to hold off the united fleets of Egypt and the north Indian powers from the relief of Calicut. A twelvemonth after his death the battle of Diu avenged the young hero and gave Portugal command of the sea for a hundred years. In such wise was laid the foundation of her power in the East. 1508

Portugal's colonial policy

With it was raised the issue of imperial policy and control. Already a colonial office, the Casa da India, had been formed to administer the trade; already the merchants of Florence and Genoa, of Augsburg, Nuremberg, and the Netherlands had begun to share the profits. And in the first year of Almeida's viceroyalty Affonso da Albuquerque and Tristan da Cunha had been despatched as harbingers of a new policy and a new war. Discovering the island which still bears da Cunha's name, they carried fire and sword up the east African coast, seized Socotra, and invaded the Persian Gulf. From Kuria Muria they sailed to the capture of Muscat and thence to the siege of their objective, Ormuz. Their attack 1506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FORTELEZA EM TENPO DO GOVERNADOR DOM ANRIQVE DE MENEZES

The Portuguese Fortress at Calicut.

Correa; from Albuquerque's *Commentaries*. A typical example of the more elaborate type of 16th century fortification by which Portugal secured her principal ports. It is of the older castle type, and these strongholds were commonly called "castles." Note the central tower or keep, and the cannon mounted in the tops of the towers. Compare with the view of S. Jorge de Mina, vol. II, p. 84.

center of the new impulse lay almost wholly in Portugal, and, at the moment that Charles and Francis took up the burden of their respective sovereignties the long and glorious reign of Emmanuel the Fortunate finished its burst of conquering advance, and his people stood out as the first colonial power of the world. This coveted pre-eminence they owed to the genius and energy of their last and greatest empire-builder, Affonso da Albuquerque, who crowned the work of da Gama and Almeida by rounding out the Portuguese commercial domination of the farther East.

Albuquerque

The great figure who now personified the expanding power of Europe was a type and product of his people and his age. Born in the year that Constantinople fell, of warrior-sailor-courtier ancestry, long service in Africa and on the sea among those bred in the school of Prince Henry had filled him with the ambition "to render the great service to Our Lord in casting out the Moslems from the land." From a voyage to Malabar he brought a design destined to alter the direction of the world's affairs. There Arab rivalry had made da Gama's plan of peaceful, unrestricted trade impossible; and to it had succeeded Almeida's efforts to control the sea by fleets and naval base. Building on this, Albuquerque planned to extend Portuguese power from the sea-ways about Africa and ports on the Indian coasts to the sources and channels of the whole of that trade which centered on the Malabar coast.

His strokes were swift and sure. As a center of operations, at once a naval base and a commercial capital, he seized the port of Goa in north Malabar, killed or drove out 1512-
its Moslem inhabitants, conciliated the Hindus, built a fortress, transferred to it the privileges of the older ports, established magazines of arms and supplies, and set up a central administration. Meanwhile, a squadron made its way to Sumatra, through the Straits to Java, and so to the Spice Islands, whither Albuquerque followed on the conclusion of his operations in Malabar. With aid from Java he attacked Malacca, built a fort there to control the Straits highway to the farther East, and thence despatched a fleet to establish

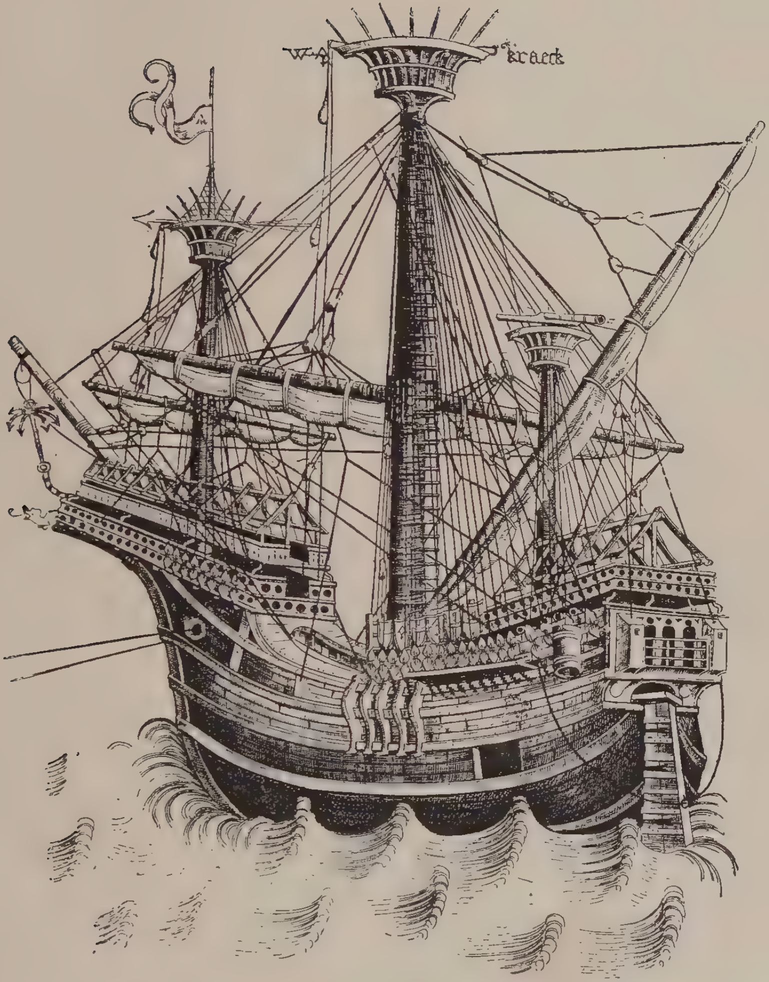
posts in the Spice Islands as far as Amboyna, in order to control the spice trade at its source.

Thence, having made treaties with the rulers of Indo-China, he turned to avenge a Turkish-Persian attack on his new capital, and struck at the Red Sea. 1513 Though beaten off from Aden, he took Ormuz, the key to the Persian Gulf, and its rich trade, and strengthened his hold on India by factories at Calicut and Diu. His wilder dreams of ruining Egypt by diverting the Nile into the Red Sea, and paralyzing the Moslem world by stealing Mohammed's body from its shrine at Medina, were scarcely less amazing than his deeds. In five years he replaced the Arab trading empire with that of Portugal, opened the way to farther Asia, and fastened the hold of Europe on the East. He had done more. Following the Navigator's policy of taking Mohammedanism in the rear, he had helped to divert Turkish attention from European conquest, and so relieved the pressure from that quarter for a time. At his death the Portuguese empire of 1515 the East was an accomplished fact, and, completed precisely a hundred years after the fall of Ceuta, his task, conceived and executed in the spirit of Prince Henry, fitly crowned the century of expansion.

His successors 1516

His work was carried on by other hands. Within six years Saurez had secured Colombo with a fort to dominate Ceylon; Pereira went to China as envoy; Andrada had explored the Chinese coast, whose trade, with that of farther India, now fell to Portugal; and the vast eastern archipelago, 1517 as far as Borneo, was visited by her ships. At the same time the Turks conquered Egypt. Venice and Genoa were thus cut off from their last highway to the East; and Lisbon took their place as the great *entrepôt* of Asiatic goods. Turk, Arab, Persian, and Egyptian strength was still to contend for mastery of the sea; the long demarcation line between their power and that of Portugal was to swing back and forth with the uncertain hazards of an endless war; but, till her independence was lost at home, Portugal was to hold her power in the East.

Such was the prize. How was it to be kept? Had Por-



Flemish Engraving of a Carrack.

[End of the 15th century.] Compare with the picture of the Embarkation, p. 84. From Bourel de la Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine Française.*

The effect of Portugal's policy

tugal's development at home, or her ability to organize and rule abroad equaled her daring and her enterprise, the edifice thus raised might well have stood, and Golden Goa remained the mistress of the East. Perhaps no state so circumstanced at that time could have revealed superior capacity, but Portugal's development at home scarcely kept pace with her progress abroad. Her government grew highly centralized; Cortes was merged in Council; popular liberties disappeared; and the king's authority, like that of his contemporaries, increased. But futile foreign policy and a false economy weakened the state. Her feudal organization was better fitted to conquer than exploit the new empire; and her million and a third inhabitants were too few for the great task thus thrust upon them.

In Portugal

Moreover, sudden wealth demoralized society. Her nobles found their way to wealth and power by courtly arts that won them the commands abroad which were the perquisite of their class. The influx of slaves compelled the peasantry, unable to compete with forced labor, to leave their holdings. Agriculture correspondingly declined; manufactures tended to disappear; and, save for the fisheries, Portugal, abandoning herself to a single interest, ceased to support herself. Never a nation of varied resource, she had called sailors and shipwrights, merchants of all lands to reinforce her daring and her enterprise. But success narrowed her policy. The Jews were forced to embrace Christianity or follow the Moors into exile; and, as capital increased, foreigners found their privileges cut off. Royal monopoly was extended to a lengthening list of articles, the quantity of imports limited and prices raised. To prevent interlopers, the secrets of the passage were guarded with increasing vigilance. Papal interdicts were reinforced by prohibition of the sale of maps of lands beyond the Congo; and those waters became a *mare clausum.*

In relation to Europe

Yet, strangely enough, the Portuguese neglected trade with European ports. Flattered, perhaps, by homage to their capital, or seeking easy profits from its port dues, they suffered Germans and Flemings, French, Italians, Jews;

Welsers and Fuggers, Hochstetters, Imhoffs, Marchini, Salvaggi, Carducci, half the great merchants of the continent, to establish branch houses in Lisbon and absorb the distribution of their goods throughout Europe. From these in turn they bought the necessities of life, and this, with the vast expense of their establishment oversea, ate up their profits. Thus, with the unequal distribution of her wealth, and economic decline which reduced her taxable property, Portugal early began to degenerate at home.

In her colonies

Nor was this compensated by development abroad. Her population in the East gave small hope of permanence or increase, still less of impressing its culture or power upon the natives whom she met. Few women of the better sort went out even while their emigration was allowed, which was not long. The men, encouraged by the government and the church, married among the natives and bred a new race, Eurasian or Eurafrican, lacking the strength of either element; while from too close contact with alien blood at home and in the colonies the national fiber weakened and grew Orientalized. The church, which accompanied the Portuguese advance, scarcely extended its influence beyond the greater ports, and competed ineffectively with the native faiths.

Portuguese imperial organization

Such were the first fruits of Portugal's achievements in the East. Yet, in spite of them, it might have been Emmanuel's fortune to build up a system of colonial administration which would have counteracted these defects in some degree. But the task seemed beyond his strength. The huge Estado da India, created in Almeida's day, was governed by a Viceroy who, from his capital at Goa, ruled some fifteen thousand miles of coast with vast but vague authority. At home the Casa da India, or India House, extended its oversight to all the business with the factories, while the Casa da Mina, or Guinea House, controlled the gold output of Africa. Beyond the Cape were presently established seven governorships, and a system of inspection by royal officers. An Indian army was created, and squadrons stationed at the danger points to guard the trading fleets.

But the long line of scattered posts could be but slightly

Trade and administration

supervised at best. The Viceroy fought and administered as best he could; the Casa da India prepared cargoes, divided profits, enlisted soldiers, supervised the fleets; the royal agents looked after the king's interests when and where they could; the supreme court in Goa settled such cases as came before it. But, withal, captains and governors exercised their powers almost without restraint, and from the first a fatal error nullified all efforts at honest government. In their hands administration was combined with oversight of trade, and the temptation to sacrifice the public good for private gain was thus made irresistible. Worse still, the Portuguese did not learn. The commission of the Admiral of the East was made in the same terms as that of Pessanha, centuries before, even to the necessity of employing twenty Genoese subordinates; while Goa's charter, ignoring difference of conditions, was copied from that of Lisbon.

Thus, though Portugal had great sources of strength,—a prestige won by the fighting qualities of her noble adventurers and their followers, superiority in vessels, seamanship, and arms,—from the beginning she revealed sources of weakness as well. Her rulers were not only ignorant of administration and trade; they held to older forms and rigid measures, and never rose to great heights or wider vision of imperial or commercial needs. Equally incapable of imposing her own system on alien peoples, or of devising new methods to suit new conditions, only the absorption of other European states in their own affairs and the courage of her agents abroad enabled Portugal to maintain the power she had won by the daring of her heroes.

Spain in the West Indies

And at the very moment when she achieved her greatest success she had a rude awakening from her dream of complete monopoly. It came, as might have been supposed, from Spain. While Portugal had pushed her power to farther Asia, her rival had feverishly sought two objects in America, gold and a western way to Asiatic trade; and, almost simultaneously, at this juncture in affairs, she suddenly achieved them both. Her success was the climax of a decade of strenuous activity. The year that Albuquerque sailed, 1508

Ocampo circumnavigated Cuba and Vincente Pinzon found his way along the eastern coast of South America to the fortieth parallel; while Ponce de Leon, a colonist-companion of Columbus, and first of a new race of conquerors, brought 1510 Porto Rico under Spain's control. As the great Portuguese empire-builder began his work, Diego Columbus, son of the Discoverer, went out as Viceroy of the West.

With his coming a new age began in America. The old Columbian monopoly was broken down and on every hand Spain's subjects began to exploit the new world. Coincident with the Portuguese advance to the Straits, Jamaica was occupied; Diego Velasquez conquered Cuba and established a settlement at Havana; Ponce de Leon, seeking, it was said, 1512 the fabled fountain of youth, found a peninsula of the western continent, which he called Florida. A short-lived settlement was planted on the Isthmus of Panama; and Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, having founded the first permanent mainland colony at Darien, led a force across the Isthmus to look 1513 out for the first time upon the waters of a peaceful western sea, which he christened the Pacific. This he claimed for Spain, while two of his more daring followers seized a native boat and, first of all Europeans, pushed out upon its waters. 1514-15 Upon the news of this discovery, the Spanish king despatched his captain de Solis to find a way around America into its waters, and thus anticipate, if possible, the Portuguese discovery of the Isles of Spice. But Portugal, who likewise sent an expedition on the same track, had meanwhile won 1515-16 the race from the other end. Before de Solis sailed, her ships had loaded at Barida and Amboyna in the heart of the Moluccan archipelago; and, in the year that Albuquerque died, the Spanish leader fell by native hands on the great estuary which he named La Plata; his men turned back, defeated in their enterprise; and Portugal retained her hard-won domination of the East.

The results Spain's opportunity, despite her great activities, seemed lost. She had been in the new world a quarter of a century; her subjects had explored and conquered widely, spending their lives and fortunes freely in their quests; but thus far she had failed of sudden wealth like that of Portugal. She had won the West Indian archipelago and some thousand miles of tropical coast; laid some rude peoples under tribute, or set them to work; found some store of gold and pearls; built up a slender trade; sent out some colonists; and laid foundations for a sure if slow prosperity from the products of the soil, like and not so great as that in the Portuguese island-colonies. Of native races she had met only the mild and peaceful Aruacs, from whom she wrested tribute and forced labor; and the fiercer Caribs, from whom she got scarcely more than hard blows, a new name, Caribbean, for the Antillean sea, and the word cannibal. But both Aruacs and Caribs were savages of low type, mere hunters and fishermen; neither of them offered prospects of profit beyond what had been or was being obtained from them, and that was far from considerable. As yet no land of gold; no spices, silks, nor gems; no rich nations fit for conquest or for trade; no sea-way to the East rewarded her adventurers in the western hemisphere.

The rumors of the Aztecs

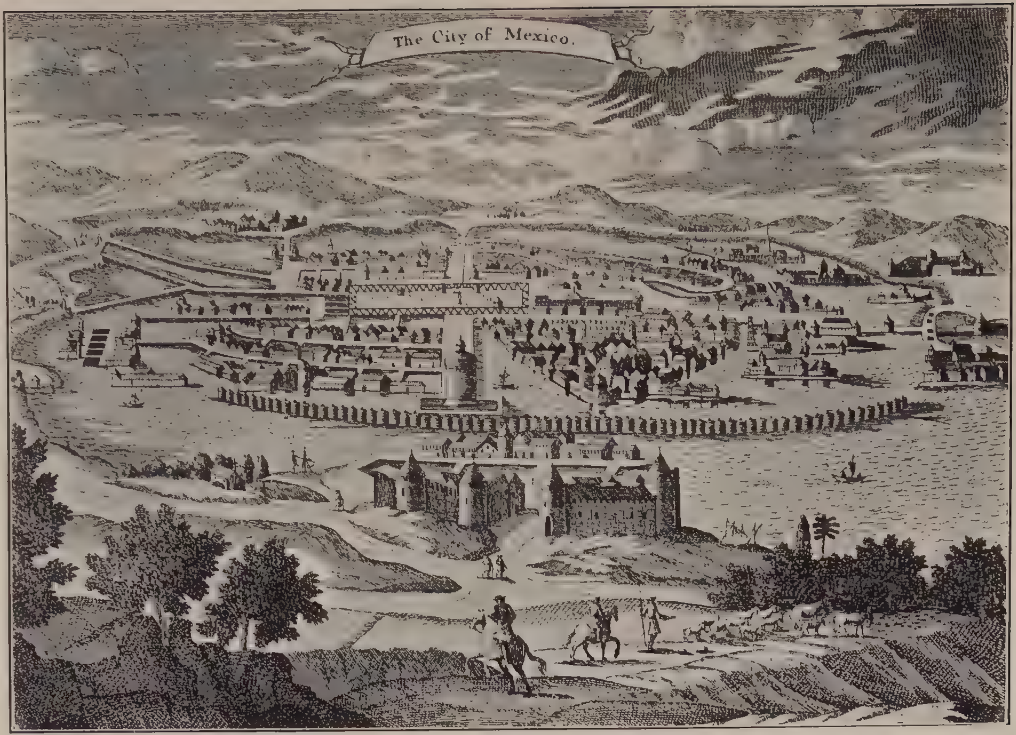
Yet at the end of her costly enterprise Spain found a great success. From native chiefs the founder of Darien learned of lands "flowing with gold," sufficient to satisfy even the "ravenous appetites" of his rapacious followers. These, as the event was to prove, lay to the south; but long before they were attained, adventurers had begun the exploitation of the coast lands to the north. Within three years Cordova (1517) found the peninsula of Yucatan, the home of the highly civilized Maya tribes; and Juan de Grijalva, coasting northward thence (1518), got news of a great mainland empire of fabulous wealth. This information, with some store of gold, he sent back to Cuba; and with the exploration of the Gulf coast from Florida to where Grijalva had left off the problem of gold and a sea-way to the East took on more definite form, as the Spanish-Americans prepared for continental conquest.

Hernando Cortez 1519

The first to move was Cuba's governor, Velasquez. Fired by Grijalva's gold and information, he hastened to equip a force to seek the mainland empire. Ten ships, some six hundred foot, a score of horses, with artillery and supplies, were intrusted to the command of the alcalde of Santiago, Hernando Cortez. In one view the choice was fortunate. A soldier's son, born in Estremadura, "the cradle of conquerors," brave, adventurous, poor, able, and ambitious even beyond his kind, the new commander, after long service under Ovando and Velasquez, had thus far been denied an independent command and the great opportunity of which he dreamed. He was neither slow nor scrupulous in availing himself of it, now it had come. Sailing at once to evade recall, recruiting his forces and supplies as he went, he found his way to Tabasco, thence to Vera Cruz. There he was elected governor and captain-general by his followers; sent back word to Charles V of his adventure and his new dignities; and thus severing the last tie which bound him to his patron, the Cuban governor, he prepared his great exploit. Meanwhile, the ruler of the inland empire, Montezuma, sent him presents and a command to leave the country. But the sight of gold only confirmed the invaders' resolution "to go to see what this great Montezuma might be like, and to make an honest living and our fortunes." Cortez burned his ships to commit his men irrevocably to the adventure, and advanced toward the interior with some four hundred Spaniards and his native allies.

The Aztecs

Of it and its inhabitants he had meanwhile learned much. Centuries earlier a fierce northern tribe, the Aztecs, had fallen on the cultured Toltec race, which held the central Mexican plateau, subdued them and their neighbors, absorbed the civilization which they found, grafted on it their dark and bloody religious observances, and became the rulers of the greater part of what came to be known as Mexico. Save for the use of iron, gunpowder, and domestic animals, especially the horse, and for the ferocious superstitions of their religion, they seemed scarcely inferior to the Europeans with whom they were now to be brought in contact. They built in stone, wove cotton cloth, mined and worked the precious metals, dug canals, and were pre-eminent in agriculture. Nor were their intellectual acquirements inconsiderable, for they reckoned time, used hieroglyphic writing, and were no mean


The City of Mexico.

This view of the City of Mexico is a formalized plan of the Spanish city. It is taken from A. de Solis, *History of the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards* (translated by Townshend, London, 1724). It must be regarded as a typical rather than absolutely correct drawing of the city, but is none the less interesting.

invested; and for three months the Aztecs, under a new leader, Guatomozin, defended themselves with the fury of despair. They were defeated, and the Aztec nobility was all 1521 but annihilated. The city was destroyed and upon its ruins another capital was begun. The tribes which aided the invaders found that they had only exchanged new and more powerful masters for the old. The land and its inhabitants were parceled out among Cortez' chief followers, its treasures were distributed among the conquerors, save for the royal fifth. The native temples were broken down or turned to Christian usages, the missionaries began to preach the new faith; and the conquerors, entering on their inheritance in this great realm now added to the Spanish crown, laid the foundations of a new society.

Fernão Magellan

Great as was this achievement, it was not alone in its glory. While Cortez and his followers were winning this rich land, another and a smaller Spanish force had been engaged in an exploit no less important but productive of far less reward. This was the conquest of the western sea. Sept. 20 1519 Six weeks before the Spaniards saw the Aztec capital for the first time, five ships had sailed from San Lucar in Spain under command of a Portuguese adventurer, Fernâo Magelhaes, or Magellan, sometime a captain under Albuquerque, who, six years earlier, had sailed with d'Abreu from Malacca to the Isles of Spice. He conceived the idea that the Moluccas were not within Spain's demarcation line, and that they could be reached by sailing west, but he had failed to interest Emmanuel and so entered the service under Charles of Spain.

Given command of this little fleet, he took de Solis' course to the la Plata, whence, following the eastern coast of South America beyond the farthest point then known, he wintered in Patagonia. His men mutinied, one of his captains deserted him. But, undaunted by his losses and the dangers of an unknown sea, a year from his departure, while Cortez was advancing for a second time upon the Aztec capital, Magellan reached the strait which still bears his name 1520 at the extremity of the continent. Escaping its perils almost by miracle, after six weeks he cleared the dangerous passage, turned "the desired cape, 'Deseado,'" and sailed out on the Pacific.

For a time he followed the coast northward, then struck out boldly into the open sea. Week after week he doggedly went on. The water spoiled, the fleet's supplies gave out. Men lived on leather, rats, the sweepings of the ships, meal full of maggots, or, more often, died. For a hundred days they plowed across this vast, unknown, apparently illimitable, expanse, haunted by the fear that they would sail over the world's edge into space, and at last made land at the Ladrones or Isles of Robbers. Even so the great captain was not to see the end of his exploit; for in another
1521 group, later named, from the Spanish heir, the Philippines, he fell by native hands. But his work was done. He had invaded Portuguese monopoly from the rear and given Spain a foothold upon Asiatic soil. Far more than this, he had revealed the mystery of the Pacific. His surviving followers found their way to Borneo and Tidore. One of their two remaining ships, the *Trinidad,* attempted to return to Panama, but put back to the Moluccas, where it was captured by the Portuguese; while the last vessel of the fleet was voyaging, by Portugal's well-known way about Africa, to Spain. Three years from their departure this ship, well-named the *Victoria,* with eighteen Europeans and four
1522 Asiatic sailors, under Sebastian del Cano, sailed into San Lucar, after the greatest feat of seamanship the world had ever seen. Thirty years before, Columbus found the transatlantic passage. Now the great age of maritime discovery was crowned by the circumnavigation of the earth which revealed its size and its sphericity. With it, for the first time, mankind conceived the world which it inhabited. Portugal and Spain, "the one of them departing toward the Orient and the other toward the Occident," had now "met again in the course or way of the middest of the day" and "compassed the world," between them. It remained apparently only for them to exploit what they found.

Effect of Spanish conquest

With these two great adventures, Spain found herself again on an equality with her rival in the colonial field; and, like

Portugal a decade before, was confronted by the problem of organizing and administering the empire which was being won and settled by her adventurers. Scarcely less than the progress of territorial conquest, the development of society in her possessions had demanded the attention of the home government. The slight stores of native gold in her island possessions had been soon exhausted by the plundering conquerors. The product of stream washing and rude mines proved inconsiderable; and the growth of planting had imposed fresh burdens on the unfortunate Aruacs, which they soon proved unable to sustain. Added to war and wanton cruelty, the unaccustomed and exacting labor which their masters required of them was scarcely less fatal than the Spanish arms, and, despite the efforts of the administration, they died by thousands.

The natives

In order to prevent their complete extermination, accordingly, the government devised a plan which, with some modifications, became the basis of Spanish economic power in the new world. With the design of protecting the natives and raising them at least from slavery to a species of serfdom, those within the bounds of Spanish occupation were placed in charge of leading colonists, by groups or villages proportioned to their holdings, and these so-called *encomenderos* were held responsible for the well-being, faith, and safety of their charges. Such was the system known as that of *repartimientos* or *encomiendas*. This, in some form, spread through the Spanish-American colonies, and became at once the pattern for the later development of their resources and the chief contribution of Spain to the solution of the problem of tropical exploitation.

The *repartimiento* system 1512-

1516

Opposed by impartial and enlightened men like the great missionary, Las Casas, this design was welcomed by the colonists, and even approved by the Franciscan commissioners sent out to investigate its workings. But however defensible in theory, and however admirable when properly administered with due consideration for the natives, too often it accelerated the destruction it professed to check, since it served only to confirm and legalize a bondage from which there was no

Slavery

escape but death. With this came another development. As the demand for laborers continued to increase, and the native supply continued to decline, the Spanish planters, like the Portuguese, turned to Africa for negro slaves, better fitted to endure the hard labor in the tropics which had proved insupportable to European and Indian alike. An increasing number of these new immigrants was soon introduced into the West Indies from the Guinea coast. And, though at first forbidden by the crown, the slave trade, supported by powerful interests and even the eloquence of good men like Las Casas, who hoped to save the Indians by its means, finally received the royal sanction and became a part of the colonial life. With this the ultimate success of planting and cattle-raising was assured, and a society was formed upon the basis thus laid down. Planter and native, negro and half-breed, poured into Spain an increasing stream of its produce, dye-stuffs and wood, fruits, drugs, tobacco, cotton, hides and cattle products, and, above all, sugar, which, introduced into the colony within a generation after the discovery, became the first great staple of the West Indian colonies. Thus though progress was checked by the continual drain upon the population for mainland exploits, the island settlements began a course of slow but sure advance.

1508-

1517

c. 1520

Organization of Spanish-America 1508-

With the development of planting and the influx of labor came administrative changes. Two years before Diego Columbus had taken his place as governor, the Española towns had been granted their petition for municipal privileges; and within a year of his arrival a court had been established, independent of the executive authority, to hear appeals from his justices. Thus began that characteristic institution of Spanish colonial administration, the *audiencia,* at once a governor's council and a supreme court, empowered to present memorials to the home government and so act as an effective check on executive authority. Almost at the same time the colonial director, Fonseca, and the king's secretary, with other members of the Council of Castile, had been named a committee for American affairs. From this had been developed, as early as the first year of Columbus'

governorship, a Council of the Indies, and after the accession of Charles to the throne, this became a permanent body, which grew into the controlling authority, under the king, for c. 1524
justice and administration oversea. Meanwhile conquest and exploration spread, as the Antilles, Darien, Florida, and Mexico, with later additions, were brought under Spanish power. And though the governor of Española remained, under the home government, the nominal ruler of the Spanish-American colonies, new governors were appointed for each fresh acquisition, with slight relation to the authority of the original colony. Under such auspices, administration and society were extended with the progress of the Spanish arms. Spanish civilization, modified by slavery and the conditions of a new world, made its way gradually throughout the territories around the Gulf of Mexico at the same time that Magellan's exploit enabled Spain to invade the regions in which Al- 1520
buquerque had just completed the edifice of Portuguese colonial supremacy.

Thus simultaneously and by not dissimilar means, America and Asia were opened to European enterprise; and there began that interaction among them from which was to grow a great part of the world's history. While the continent itself was rent with the rivalries of new princes and newly organized states, there were laid the foundations of dominion oversea which was to make a European world. This, rather than the Italian wars, remains the event of lasting importance in the political activities of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. For the future belonged not to the captains and kings who filled the public eye and were to monopolize the pages of history. While explorers and conquerors determined the paths which Europe was to take abroad, the scholars and men of letters were altering the whole basis of life and thought at home; and they, with their fellow-adventurers, remained the real directors of European destinies.

CHAPTER VII

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION.
1492-1521

At the moment that the little Spanish town of Palos rang with the preparations for that voyage which was to bring a new world into European view, and the envoys of Milan were seeking to persuade the French king, Charles VIII, to intervene in the affairs of the Italian peninsula, the greatest princely figure of the Renaissance, Lorenzo the Magnificent, lay on his death-bed. Before the news of the discovery reached Florence, or the emissaries of Ludovico Sforza had received assurances of French support, the noblest patron of the New Learning had gone. Had the movement which unfolded the past to European minds been of like nature with those political activities which drew his city into the maelstrom of French and Spanish rivalry, it might well have been that his death would have checked the splendid burst of scholarly and artistic genius evoked in the preceding generation and its budding splendor would have failed to achieve its full fruition. But such movements as the Renaissance depend little upon the individual, however great; and less upon the ambitions of a prince, however powerful; least of all upon the vicissitudes of politics. For, even while Italy became the battle-ground of Europe, her genius made her the artistic and intellectual capital of the continent. 1492

For the first quarter of the sixteenth century, though filled with great actions by land and sea, the rivalries of princes and the adventures of nations and individuals, was far from being wholly dominated by even the most insistent demands of war and politics. Deeply influenced as they were by these activities, the mind and heart of Europe were still more profoundly stirred by the concurrent developments in far different fields. Art and letters, science, above all theology, assumed a fresh importance in the life of man. New lines of achievement, new fields of opportunity were opened on every hand; and while the creative genius of the European race rose to still greater heights of excellence, there was evolved a new school of religious faith and practice in opposition to the old establishment.

Italian art This expansion of man's intellect and capabilities was nowhere more evident than in the realm of art; and nowhere were its achievements more remarkable than in Italy. At the same time that the Iberian powers revealed an amazing burst of conquests and discovery, the Italian peninsula revealed a no less amazing development in art and letters. And it is not the least remarkable of the coincidences in this extraordinary period that concurrently with the deeds of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, Albuquerque, and Cortez, painters like Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci, and writers like Machiavelli and Ariosto, should have appeared to enlarge Europe's literary and artistic empire while her political boundaries were extended oversea.

This was a natural result of those same forces which had operated to produce the humanist renaissance and to lay the foundations for rebirth of art. As the centers of intellectual effort in the peninsula, and, more slowly, in Europe generally, felt the scholarly and literary impulse which emanated from Florence under the golden age of the Medici, so these same Italian cities had become the fountainheads of a new art. "The oil of commerce fed the lamp of culture," and it was a culture which took on the form of beauty. There the Florentine, Leonardo da Vinci, architect, engineer, scientist, **1452-1519** and artist, in Milan, in Florence, in Rome, in France, had pursued his varied callings, and crowned the achievements of his versatile genius with the masterpiece of fresco, the Last Supper.

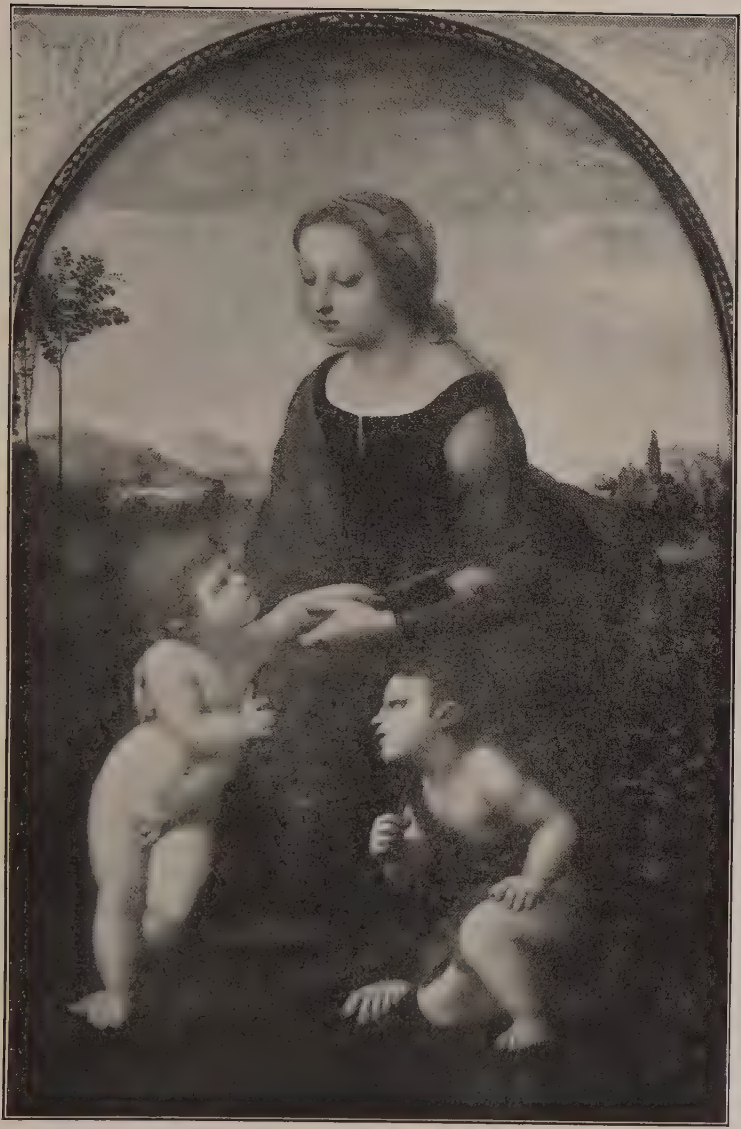
What Leonardo's influence was to the Lombard cities that of Giorgione's pupil, Titian, was to Venice, whose beauty **1477-1576** and opulence flamed from his glowing canvas in a splendor of color till now unrivaled in pictorial art.

Meanwhile, the genius of the master of the Italian school, 1483-1520 Raphael Sanzio, "the Divine," of Urbino, crowned the achievements of the period. In his work the deep sense of the older religious inspiration was blended with the technical skill developed by two generations of unparalleled progress in portraiture; and in his Madonnas and Holy Families, the 1475-1564 zenith of achievement in that field was reached. Finally, the Titanic talents of the Capresian, Michelangelo trained in the school of Lorenzo the Magnificent, infused into painting, sculpture, and architecture alike that greatness of conception, that combined strength and delicacy of execution, which, whether in the colossal frescoes of the Sistine Chapel, or in the superb design for the projected church of St. Peter, or in the compelling vigor and fidelity of his statuary, set new standards in each field. Of these Leonardo, Titian and Michelangelo, by virtue of long life, carried on into another generation the tradition of greatness, and no less by their lives than by their works established the artistic revival on an enduring foundation.

To their achievements in form and beauty must be added another element, that of majesty. If the earlier painters of the Renaissance had tended toward delicacy, and those of the middle period toward a subtle sensuality, if the age of Savonarola found its ideal in humility, that of the oncoming generation tended toward a pride of bearing, a dignity, a courage which reflected the altering attitude of this world toward the next. Men were becoming conscious of their powers and opportunities, and painting was quick to catch the altered tone of life.

The Papacy and the Renaissance

Thus in the decades which saw French and Spanish power waste themselves in their futile rivalry, and Spain and Portugal win new worlds for European energies to exploit, Italy made secure the edifice of her artistic supremacy and established once for all the canons of taste and craftsmanship. Not since the days of Pericles had Europe seen such a galaxy of artistic genius as Italy brought forth at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Not during her whole history had Europe seen such an advance in painting as in this genera-



La Belle Jardinière.

From the painting by Raphael. A typical example of the new school of art; notable not only for its beauty, but for the accurate drawing and perspective, the use of landscape and the traces of classical influence.

tion. To Lorenzo's patronage succeeded that of the warlike 1503
Julius II, and to his encouragement that of Leo X, as with 1513
its last great effort to establish temporal power the Papacy became the center of Italian culture. Whatever its shortcomings on the spiritual side, as it enlisted artists and architects to embody and adorn its greatness in stone and fresco, and clothed its spiritual leadership with the splendor of creative art, it served greater ends than mere improvement in technique and decoration. It helped to develop the soul of art which underlay all these material manifestations, and so aided in the emancipation from the formalism of the past.

The spirit of Renaissance art

For it was not merely Titian's color and Michelangelo's application of anatomy to painting and sculpture, nor Raphael's mastery of technique, which accomplished these new miracles. Behind the advance in drawing and design, the development of perspective and chiaroscuro, lay a spiritual force. If the scholars had brought Europe in touch with the past, and the adventurers had brought her in contact with the world outside, the artists brought her in touch with nature, and that service, reinforced as time went on by the scientists, was to prove no less important to her future development than even the greatest results of her more material activities. Nor was the sense of achievement, which is the most powerful incentive to further effort, less in the realm of art than in those other fields. From it proceeded new confidence and new strength, and that impulse to new adventure which was to win fresh triumphs with the advancing years. As full, rounded landscape took the place of the rude, jagged sketches which the preceding century had largely used as a background for its figures, it symbolized an altered attitude toward life. The flowing lines, the more fleshly figures, the spaciousness of conception, like the attention to details of dress and furnishing, revealed that man had come to look on his environment with pleasure rather than distaste. For good or ill the world was becoming more worldly. And as comfort and luxury were no longer reckoned sinful this world lost something of its terrors, the next something of its joys.

Italian literature Italy was not unique in this achievement nor was it distinguished merely for its painting and sculpture. In poetry, **1474-1533** the genius of Ariosto revived, expanded, and adorned an earlier poem into his romantic epic of *Orlando Furioso,* the beauty of whose verse, no less than the skill of its construction and the vivacity of its imaginative qualities, set it among the masterpieces of the world. What Ariosto was to Italian **1469-1527** poetry, the Florentine secretary, Nicolo Machiavelli, was to statecraft and literature alike. From long experience in politics and letters, he drew a history of Florence which established a new form of historiography. Far more enduring and more pervasive in its influence, he formulated in his great masterpiece, *The Prince,* those maxims for the management of men and bodies politic whose subtlety and skill made their way deep into the minds of men of affairs. Divorcing morality from method, it became the model for that school which, from this day to ours, found in the accomplishment of its ends a full excuse for exercise of all the means which lead to power. With these as the chief exponents of a wider school, Italy retained in literature, as in art, the primacy of the continent. Humanism had produced no philosophy of its own, but in Machiavelli's work was summed up, not merely the cynicism to which it gave rise, but a political philosophy, drawn from the phenomena of absolutism about him, and at once a potent and a manual for the greater absolutism which was to come.

German art Yet far beyond the Alps, partly inspired by Italian influence, but more largely drawing from its inner consciousness, still other schools made way during this period. The father **1471-1528** of German painting, "prince of artists," Albrecht Dürer, sometime court painter to the Emperors Maximilian and Charles V, trained in his birthplace, Nuremberg, and in Italy, drew from each source those qualities of exactness and breadth which, joined to his natural quaintness of conception, made him the "Chaucer of painting." Beside his work with the brush, he added another element to the growing appeal of art; for he became the founder of a school of wood-engraving which, in his hands, was developed from rude caricature to the rank of a fine art. With it he, like his contemporaries, of whom the elder Holbein was chief, made that appeal from princes to people which was the characteristic of the modern world, bringing the masses into closer touch with this field of human endeavor through the medium of the printing-press.

The New Learning in northern Europe

While the genius of Italy led the way toward that emancipation of the intellect which was the chief product of the New Learning of the Renaissance, northern men of letters, like northern artists, had begun to strike out ways for themselves and to infuse the scholarship of the continent with a spirit less conservative than that of Italy, clinging to the past, yet looking more and more toward the future. The painters of the Teutonic world, following Dürer and Holbein, tended continually to the delineation, not so much of saints and angels as of the characters and scenes about them; and their genius seemed more closely in touch with the living world than with the realm of faith or fancy. As scholarship spread northward it revealed the same characteristic. Though the older forms remained, in art and letters and intellect their power waned before the new spirit, till they became rather the relics of a fast-fading past, than the expressions of a living present.

The new universities

1400-1500

Throughout the fifteenth century the great outstanding fact in the intellectual development of Europe beyond the Alps had been the foundation of universities. There, especially in Germany, those centers of learning and education had increased enormously in number and importance. Louvain, St. Andrews, Upsala, Leipzig, Freiburg, Tübingen, Basel, Wittenberg, with many others, less famous or long-lived, thus took their place in lengthening the roll of such institutions, while in England, Oxford and Cambridge saw corresponding increase in the number of their colleges. With this came an access of scholarly pursuits. At first, like the schools of France and Italy, whence they sprung, the new race of teachers adhered to the strictest rules of the past. Dialectic reigned supreme, Aristotle retained his dominion over their intellectual processes. But this was not for long.

Like their prototype and prophet of this new order, the German scholar-poet Agricola, they felt the new forces then making way in European thought. His work on dialectic, which led the way in this tendency, evidenced a general reaction against the older scholasticism in favor of the oncoming intellectual processes which sought a sounder basis for their conclusions than mere tradition or authority.

Agricola was but one of many. In his own land were found 1455-1522 men like Reuchlin, whose talents were devoted not merely to Greek and Latin but to Hebrew, now, with the impetus given by Pico della Mirandola, beginning to make way in European scholarship and even into theology. Still more was the cause of the new learning furthered by the English c. 1500-1540 or Oxford school of humanists. These—Colet, Lily, Latimer, Grocyn, and the English chancellor, More—carried the labors of the Florentines one step farther. They were not content with the study and editing of classical texts. They wished to make them a part of general education, and in their hands began a movement to alter the fundamentals of instruction. This, reinforced in many other quarters, began that system of mental training, based on the classics and mathematics, which slowly but surely superseded the mediæval school system.

More 1478-1535 One of them, at least, went farther still. Not content with aiding the cause of the new learning, Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, moved by the spirit of sympathy with the unfortunate lot of the lower classes, and by the general discontent with social conditions which marked the early years of the sixteenth century, gave to the world the first sketch of an ideal commonwealth which Europe had seen since the days 1516 of Plato. His *Utopia* was not merely a remarkable literary achievement, it was a sign of the times. For in its pages were voiced the dreams and the aspirations of a multitude of men who saw the old order disintegrating about them, and who sought a new basis of society no less than a new basis of knowledge in reason rather than inherited authority.

Erasmus 1466-1536 Greatest of all this northern school was the Dutchman, Desiderius Erasmus. Bred to the church, trained in theology and the so-called "humane sciences," he brought to the humanistic movement a scholarship unrivaled in his day, wide knowledge of the world, a keen and critical intellect, and, above all, a literary style which made him a leader in this movement. His connection with the Venetian publisher, Aldus, and the Swiss publisher, Frobenius, placed him in touch with the great exponents of scholarship and letters. His edition of the Greek New Testament revealed learning and acumen which put him in the first rank of European scholars. His *Praise of Folly,* and still more his *Colloquia,* went farther still along the lines laid down by More in looking toward a church reform inspired neither by pagan philosophy nor Papal predominance. For, not content with satirizing society as it was then constituted, he ventured to attack the ecclesiastical establishment, especially on its weakest side, monasticism. To England he brought a new impetus of classical scholarship by his lectures at Oxford and his relations with the English humanists. To the continent he brought that note of antagonism to the intrenched authority of Rome which was to bear such bitter fruit.

In this he was the herald of a new age. For his careful and conservative skepticism not only inspired such men as Reuchlin and the young Melanchthon to voice more openly the prevalent discontent with Rome, but infused the Teutonic world with a classicism touched by religious and social sentiments, and concerned with every-day affairs. Like the English school, with which they were so closely connected, Erasmus and his followers ventured to apply scholarship to Scripture and at least some modicum of reason to theology, and to inform the spirit of the time with learning, common-sense, and a fresh ally, humor. From the spirit thus evoked there came in no long time a new movement of scarcely less consequence to the social than to the ecclesiastical system.

Rabelais 1490-1553

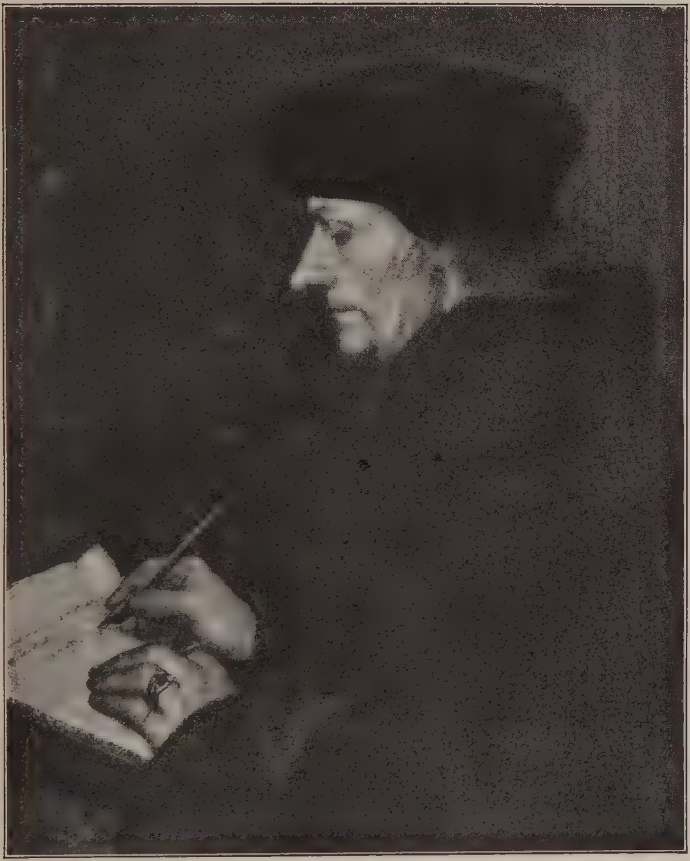
That movement was meanwhile active in other quarters and in very different hands. The Frenchman, Rabelais, destined, like Erasmus, for the church, but soon rebelling against his fate, evolved his extravagant masterpiece of *Gargantua and Pantagruel.* This gigantic satire on the old system of thought and education at once condemned the intellectual and educational models of the church and extolled the ideals of the apostles of the new learning, mingling its wisdom with a humor too coarse for modern taste, but peculiarly fitted to combat the outworn ideals of the ecclesiastical system which it attacked. Such were the leaders of that movement, which, expanding the labors of the Florentine humanists, brought the new learning another stage in its progress, and formed the connecting link between the Renaissance and the reforming movement in the church.

In their hands the rapidly approaching trial of strength between the champions of the old order and the new was carried on to another generation from that which saw the discovery of the transatlantic passage and the way to India. And it is not, perhaps, surprising, amid such abundant fruits of the literary and scholarly renaissance, that the last quarter of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth century were occupied rather with the letters and thought than with the science of the classical world. For they were concerned with those things which pressed most closely on their daily life, the affairs of a church sorely in need of reform and of societies busied in establishing themselves into states on new foundations of national and international relationships.

Other influences —history

Amid this conflict of ideas and ideals, three other movements typified the changes then coming about in European life and thought. The first was the emergence of historical scholarship, the second the revolution in taste which injected classical conceptions into a society long accustomed to Gothic models, the third was the extraordinary progress of the art of printing. They were, perhaps, co-ordinate phenomena. It was no mere casual concurrence of unrelated circumstances that in the same year of the preceding century in which the Portuguese were finding their way about Cape Bojador fair on the way to India, the Italian scholar, Valla, not only demonstrated the falsity of the so-called Donation of Constantine, but detected flaws in Livy and even in the Vulgate itself. From that spring flowed a stream of destructive historical criticism which, by the beginning of the sixteenth

1439



ERASMUS.

From the painting by Holbein, in the Louvre.

century, had powerfully aided not only the humanists but the reformers.

To its development the investigations of the Roman, Biondo, in the Papal archives contributed. To this the labors of the Florentine historians, Varchi, Guicciardini, and, above all, Machiavelli, joined to produce a new school of history. Of these the last was the greatest. In his *Discourse on the Language of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio,* in his books on Livy, and, still more in his *History of Florence,* he typified that method of critical investigation which was rapidly superseding the blind processes of ''harmonizing'' rather than comparing historical material, by discarding what seemed to be untrue and so raising history from legend to at least an approximation to truth. To these he added his great contribution to political thought, on which his chief fame rests, *The Prince;* and, whether it be reckoned merely a description of the motives which ruled men in the age of the tyrants, or as a satire, or as a manual of the theory and practice of despotism, it remains not merely a masterpiece of the maxims of that school of statecraft, but an example of a new school of thought which for the first time in modern history looked its phenomena in the face and set them down as they were.

1500-

Machiavelli 1469-1527

1513

The great and obvious debt which historical writing owed to the revival of the learning of the ancient world was shared by architecture, though to modern eyes the gain was hardly compensated by the loss. The change in fashion, at once irrational and inevitable, which arises from the innate human desire for a new experience, had, during the latter part of the fifteenth century, greatly altered the character of the Gothic school of building that had slowly evolved through various forms during the middle ages. As is so frequently the case, its very triumph brought with it the seeds of its decadence, which had revealed itself in weakening of design and excess of ornamentation. The Renaissance, among its many results, turned men's tastes away from the forms toward which the later Gothic tended. Classical models, which had profoundly affected sculpture, to its huge betterment, found their way into the buildings which the sculptures

Architecture

adorned. The development of painting tended toward the same end, for that art needed what the Gothic lacked, clear wall space to display its frescoes. From such elements proceeded the alteration which now began to exhibit itself in the buildings of the continent. Thus while in France Gothic architecture continued in the so-called Flamboyant style, whose name describes its character; while in England the later or Tudor Gothic persisted in scarcely dimmed beauty of form and spirit; in Italy by the beginning of the sixteenth century a change began which slowly but surely made its way throughout the continent during the next two hundred years and more. It was the evolution of the neo-classic style which, in the hands of Italian architects, began to imitate the models of the ancient world, and to replace the Renaissance types as they had replaced the pure Gothic. Column and flat wall space, dome and rounded arch again took their place in European building. On these artists and sculptors lavished their art, and so gave another expression to that classical influence which had commenced to invade education, and which had already begun to drive scholasticism from the field of intellect.

Printing The rapid spread of these influences might, however, have proved impossible had it not been for the third great force then making way in Europe's affairs—the printing-press. During the preceding generation this great invention had been the wonder of the continent; and the last quarter of the fifteenth century, in particular, had seen the spread of printers to every part of Europe. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the Netherlands had a score of presses, France twice that number, and Italy four times as many. In the same years that Columbus came to Portugal seeking
1476 his fortune, the English printer, William Caxton, brought from his apprenticeship on the continent the first press to his native country. His earliest ventures abroad had been a French romance on the history of Troy and a book on chess. His earliest volume in England was a translation of the *Sayings of the Philosophers.* And, in a peculiar sense, these typified the interest finding expression in print through

northern Europe beside the Bible and the classics: for they made the new art not merely the vehicle of purely intellectual achievements, but brought it into touch with every department of life.

In printing generally, in publication and editing, as in the scholarship which gave it impetus, Italy took the lead. The art brought thither by German craftsmen, and first practised by them, was, almost at once, adopted and improved by Italian taste. There, in some measure, it experienced the fate of architecture. To the Gothic forms of type, or **black letter,** which the northerners had invented and used at first almost if not quite exclusively, was soon added the lighter and more legible Roman type, adapted from the so-called minuscule letters of the ninth century Carolingian manuscripts. To the great Venetian printer, Aldus Manutius, in the first 1450-1515 years of the sixteenth century, is usually attributed the development of so-called *italics,* and the Greek font, which from that day to this have been familiar to typography.

This progress was not confined to Italy. Before the first quarter of the century had passed, there was not a considerable city in Europe without a press, and northern printers rivaled those of the south in contributing to scholarship by their editorial activities, and to typography by their technical taste and skill. From their hands flowed a steady stream of classical texts, and, scarcely less, of more modern literary and scientific writings. And when the growing controversy between the church and its antagonists came to a head, it found ready to its hand the means by which both sides could appeal to a wider audience than would have been possible a century earlier. This redounded rather to the advantage of the protesting element, but its immediate effect upon the art of printing was very great. Among the reasons for the success of the reforming movement which accompanied the advance in letters and learning must be reckoned not the least the craft which owed its original largely to Luther's fellow-countrymen; while among the reasons for the extraordinary increase of printing during the sixteenth century, the theological controversies hold a high place.

Thus the half-century which saw the discovery of the sea-ways east and west, the emergence of national kingships, and the beginnings of revolt against the church, marked a great epoch in the artistic and intellectual, even in the technical advance of Europe. In one view no movements could have well seemed more diverse than those which brought into existence the masterpieces of Italian and northern art and letters, new fonts of type, and new schools of architecture, historical scholarship, and education. Yet at bottom no circumstance of the period was more characteristic than the simultaneous appearance of these widely differing phenomena. For there was not one of them which did not owe its origin in some measure to the Renaissance, and which did not connect itself directly or indirectly with that growing tendency toward emancipation from the traditions of the past, that reliance on self rather than tradition, which was the characteristic of the oncoming modern world.

The Renaissance and the Reformation

How powerful these influences were to be, the generation then taking its place upon the stage was soon to show. While rulers and statesmen wove their plans for greater power or wider dominion, their people, however involved in the immediate concerns of politics, found in this field of spirit and intellect, of arts and crafts, a firmer basis for a new fabric of culture and society than the ambitions of their kings and captains could conceive. And even while the ensuing drama of war and politics unfolded its successive acts, the studies and workshops of the European world prepared a more enduring triumph for the race than all the glories of diplomacy or war were able to achieve. From the work of the Renaissance there sprang not merely greater knowledge and skill in arts and letters, but that long and complex movement, social, religious, and political, which we know, inadequately enough, as the Reformation. From it and its results, in turn, joined to the progress of letters, art, and science, there was evolved a new society.

1517

That movement had already begun. At the very moment when the young Flemish prince Charles made his first progress in Spain, on the way to his coronation, and Francis I was reaping the rewards of his first attack on Italy there began in Germany a revolt against Papal authority, which, reinforced from many directions, seriously threatened, for the first time, a permanent division of the western church. And the years which saw the recrudescence of the Franco-Hapsburg rivalry in Italy, the extension of European power in the east and west, and the culmination of the renaissance of art, became no less memorable for a final, and, as it was to prove, a successful effort to throw off the domination of the Papacy from a great part of Europe.

The opponents of the ecclesiastical system

The Reformation was compounded of many elements. Throughout its history the Roman hierarchy had been compelled to contend with those classes and individuals who, from time to time, resented the dictation of their faith, or found themselves opposed to the abuses which inevitably creep into any establishment. In no small degree these were connected with that social discontent which is the product of too great inequality of condition between the rich and poor, and by that passion for moral betterment which found material for its denunciation in the laxness of many members of the church. To these, with the advance of the new learning, and the injection of classical thought into the European mind, was added an element of disbelief in the dogmas of Roman Catholicism, a spirit of inquiry, and, in extreme instances, of downright paganism, among looser or more advanced thinkers. Especially was this true of the leaders of Italian liberal culture, and from its influence some of the higher clergy themselves were not wholly free. Mingled with this was a vaguer but no less powerful feeling that the wealth and pomp of the establishment were scarcely in accordance with the poverty and simplicity of the early church and its founder. That spirit had operated to found the so-called mendicant orders; it had been the basis of popular sentiment against the higher clergy in particular; and at all times it had been a powerful factor in the appeal of reformer and revolutionary alike in their denunciation of what they reckoned the vices of the church. And, as the Papacy represented in concrete form the worldly power and splendor, no less than the dogmatic authority of the ancient church, as it remained the guardian of her traditions, the mouthpiece of her doctrines, and the actual and visible symbol of the unity of western Christendom, it became at once the chief upholder of uniformity in belief and practice and the chief target of criticism.

Wyclif and Huss Revolt against the ecclesiastical establishment was not new. The middle ages had seen various efforts to shake off the domination of Rome and to escape the formalism or dogmas of the mediæval church. From the time when, two centuries earlier, the Papacy had summoned a crusade to crush the Albigensians in the south of France, 1207- to the Council of Constance, in the first years of the fifteenth century, 1414-18 Papal domination had been disturbed by successive heresies and schisms. Since the twelfth century the so-called Waldenses had maintained their independence of Rome in the high-lying west Alpine valleys. 1320-84 Thirty years before the Council met, there had died in England one John Wyclif, who, as fellow and master of Balliol College, Oxford, and rector of Lutterworth, had passed from an attack on the mendicant orders for their luxury and uselessness to criticism of the whole establishment, and an endeavor to establish greater simplicity in the ecclesiastical organization. He had formed a sect, known as the Lollards, and had brought such great numbers under his influence that church officials, in the divided state of Papal authority, found it impossible to discipline him.

Huss Fortunately for Wyclif, he died before a reformed and reunited Papacy could summon him before a general council. His successor in the ranks of heretic leaders was not so blessed. In the very days of July, 1415, that John of Portugal set forth on his high emprise against the Moors, and Henry V prepared the expedition which led him to Agincourt, the assembly whose meeting had drawn Poggio Bracciolini to Switzerland, the Council of Constance, had taken a momentous step in the history of Europe. For, having finally determined the schism which had rent the church for nearly a century, replaced three popes with one, and transferred the seat of the Papacy again to Rome, it had summoned before it one John Huss of Bohemia, rector of the University of Prague, and ordered him to recant his heresies. His doctrines and his teachings had been, to all intents and purposes, those of Wyclif, whose example he had followed, and whose plea for greater liberty in thought and greater efficiency and simplicity in practice he had supported and amplified. Despite a safe conduct granted him by the council, despite the protests of the rulers of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, his works were condemned and he was burned at the stake. 1373-1415

But the seed thus sowed had not all fallen on stony ground, nor was it all consumed by the fowls of the air. The close relations of state and church had, indeed, brought many of the so-called innovators in opposition to the secular as to the ecclesiastical power. Heretic and schismatic were thus easily transformed by law or fact into rebels, and so suppressed in every region of the continent where royal and ecclesiastical power found a common interest. But much remained hidden from the gaze of the authorities, and, as the Roman church was again unified, the spirit of dissent from the establishment, its doctrines, and still more its practices, spread slowly through the masses of the west-European peoples during the fifteenth century. Among the upper classes the tendency to disregard the long-hallowed dogmas of the church was given a tremendous impetus by the humanism of the Renaissance, which supplied not merely a fresh interest but offered a new philosophy of life to intellectual minds. Its first result was seen in those circles which, like the brilliant court of the Medici, most eagerly seized upon the new learning, and took that opportunity to dispense with religion and morality alike. And, as usual, this in turn produced another reaction.

Savonarola 1452-98

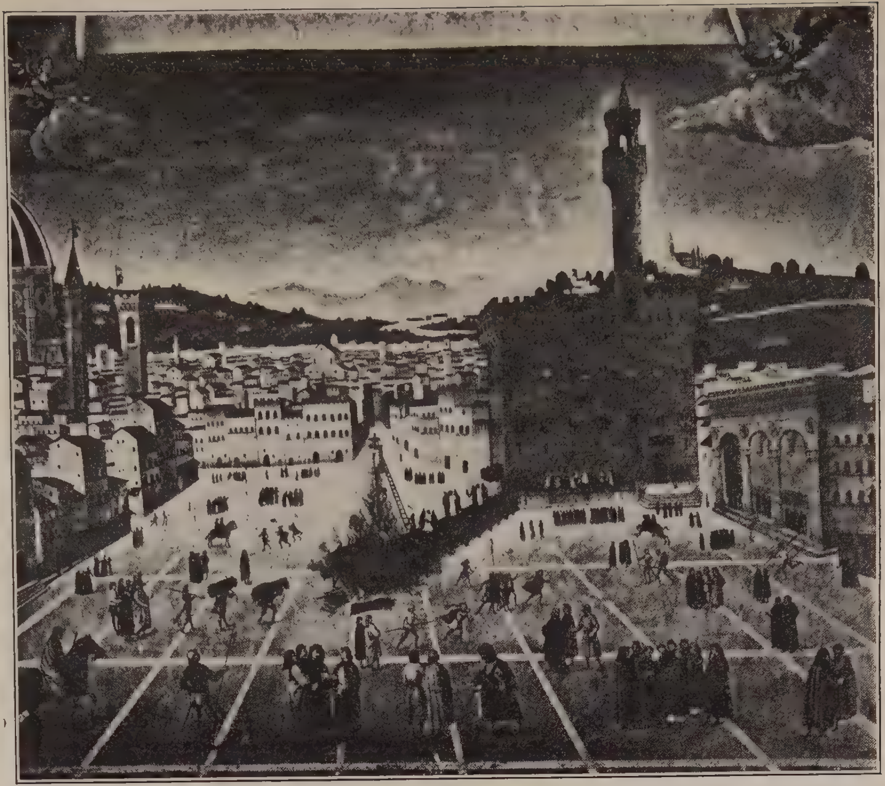
Unrelated to Wyclif or Huss or any of the so-called reformers, there was raised in Florence, at the height of its splendor under Lorenzo, the protest of Girolamo Savonarola, denouncing at once the frivolity and irreligion of his own townsmen and the vices and corruption of the Papacy. For a brief period Florence experienced the frenzy of a religious revival and Rome trembled before his eloquent denunciation. But that moment passed. The extravagances of the leader and his followers, the disinclination of the people to forego the pleasures to which they had been accustomed, the authority and the astuteness of his opponents combined to check the new wave of reform. Its leader's voice was hushed in the year that Vasco da Gama sailed round the Cape of Good Hope; and the attempt to purify the Italian church, like the reforming movement in England and Bohemia, fell before the strength of the intrenched establishment.

Had the Papacy heeded the warning then sounded, its history and that of Europe would have been spared one of their bloodiest and most disastrous chapters. In the voice of Savonarola, amid the tumults of war and the negotiations of diplomacy, might have been heard the note which was presently to dominate war and diplomacy alike. While the ambitious Julius II laid the foundations of the temporal power of the Papacy, fought, schemed, treated, and intrigued, like any secular prince, the great organization of which he was the head had drifted more and more rapidly toward a great catastrophe from which its newly won lands and authority, which were the fruits of his endeavors, were powerless to save it.

1503-13

Humanism and the Church

For, with all their efforts to extend its temporal sovereignty in Italy and maintain its long ascendancy throughout western Europe, the leaders of the church had lagged behind its members in grasping the new concepts of the universe and society, the new ideals of learning and morality. Under the scholarly Leo X, as under the warlike Julius II, the Papacy retained, with all its intellectual interests, its old claims to spiritual supremacy and its political ambitions: increasingly out of touch, like the establishment generally, with the progress of the world about it; deaf to entreaty and to threat alike. Wyclif and Huss had long since passed, the eloquence of Savonarola had thundered fruitlessly, and, to all external appearances, the authority which, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was preparing to embody its pre-eminence



THE EXECUTION OF SAVONAROLA.

After a panel in his cell at S. Marco. This view of the Piazza Signoria in Florence, with the Palazzo Vecchio in the right background and the gallows in the center, is typical of the place and period, even to the costumes of the citizens and the architecture of the city.

in the construction of the most magnificent church in Christendom, had no need to fear attack on its position. But at the very moment that the Papacy was thus preparing to proclaim its supremacy, the humanistic and the theological forces prepared a fresh assault. The adherents of the New Learning had already done much to undermine the intellectual and the educational foundations of ecclesiasticism. They had made great breaches in its philosophy. From motives of prudence or indifference or both they had refrained from any direct attack upon the church itself. They had been silent or paid lip-service to its doctrines and conformed to its practices even while their own beliefs had penetrated deeply into its membership. But man is not saved by intellect alone; and it required an emotional stimulus to produce an open resistance to Papal supremacy which the humanists, with all their intellectual independence had thus far avoided. Against the intrenched power of the great establishment there was an increasing host anxious to be led, but it was not among the ranks of the intellectuals that a leader was to be found.

The opposition to Papal dominance was not confined to any country nor to any class. Apart from selfish reasons, which moved many powerful interests to join the new movement, the best friends of the church were pleading for a change. Her enemies urged other charges. The wealth which contributed so little to the state; the claims which seemed to grow as faith declined; the vices and corruption of the Vatican; the obstinate pride of an intrenched establishment; the decay of the monastic life, no longer rendering its once unquestionable services to society; the obscurantist policy, stubbornly maintaining outworn dogmas—these were the grievances which the church, convinced of its own strength and wisdom, impervious to persuasion as to threat, disdained to correct.

St. Peter's and the Indulgences

Reform denied, revolution became imminent, and the outbreak, though long prepared, came suddenly upon an astonished world. Political disturbances, says Aristotle, spring from small events but great causes; and like many such movements, which illustrate the Greek philosopher's profound observation, this so-called Reformation began simply enough. For, though its causes lay deep in the past and in the heart of men, its immediate outburst was due to seemingly trivial circumstances apparently far removed from the field of theology. In connection with plans for beautifying Rome in the first years of the sixteenth century, Julius II summoned the genius of the most famous engineer and architect of the time, Bramante, to design an edifice to replace the old metropolitan church of St. Peter's, now fallen in decay. To this great enterprise the Papacy, then nearing the zenith of its temporal power, committed itself, and, by a curious coincidence, at the moment that Christopher Columbus was on his death-bed, the first stone was laid in what was to be an architectural wonder of the world. But Bramante's plans, however modified by later architects, were no less impressive for their cost than for their beauty, and to defray the projected expense the Vatican, among other devices, resorted to the sale of so-called indulgences, especially in Germany.

1504

Thus, some ten years after the inception of the project, while Francis I's incomparable captains, the Chevalier Bayard and Gaston de Foix, were conquering northern Italy, a persuasive monk, Tetzel, carrying out the mission intrusted to him, made his way to the ''milch-cow of the Papacy,'' as Germany was satirically called. There he fell foul of a certain Professor Martin Luther, of the University of Wittenberg, who from his pulpit and in his lectures bitterly denounced the sale of indulgences, and crowned his protest by nailing to the church door his ninety-five theses or propositions against that practice. It was significant that opposition should come as the direct result of Papal supremacy in the patronage of the arts, still more significant that it found its first voice in a university, and, most significant of all, that it arose in Germany. Nowhere had the ecclesiastical establishment been more burdensome. Nowhere was feudalism more powerful or its anarchy more oppressive; nowhere, in consequence, was there more social discontent, and nowhere had religious

Martin
Luther
1517

humanism, as distinct from the Italian intellectual humanism, struck deeper root.

Martin Luther was the expression of his nation and his 1483-1546 time. By training and environment, no less than by his character, he was peculiarly fitted to sustain the part of a popular leader in such a situation as that in which he now found himself. The son of a Saxon slate-cutter, he had been trained in jurisprudence at Erfurt, entered an Augustinian monastery, been ordained a priest, and finally risen to a professorship of philosophy at Wittenberg. His study of Aristotle and St. Augustine laid the foundations for his opinions of scholasticism and theology. A visit to Rome convinced him of the venal worldliness of the Papal court. Thus equipped, the simple vigor and eloquence of his literary style, no less than the strength of his resolution and courage, once he had challenged the authority of the Vatican, made him a formidable antagonist. Moreover, the time for a revolt was ripe. As the translation of his theses against indulgences spread through Germany, he became a popular hero; and though for the time he did not leave the church, he refused to recant his heresy or to obey a Papal summons to Rome. From 1517-21 his study poured forth a stream of tracts attacking Papal supremacy, appealing for wider tolerance; and, above all, urging the doctrine of a personal connection between the individual and the Deity, not through priestly intermediation but through prayer.

"The spiritual estate, what is it," said he, "but a fine hypocritical invention? All Christians are of the spiritual estate; a priest is nothing but a functionary, and when deprived of his office loses his authority; there is no indelible character; he is a simple layman. . . . It is a false and lying specter by which the Romanists have kept our consciences in subjection. . . . Italy is a desert! Why? The cardinals! The revenues of all are drawn to Rome. So will Germany become! . . . Let every one look to his own salvation!"

It was no wonder that the Imperial ban declared the author of such stupendous heresies as one mad or possessed of a demon, "a limb cut off from the Church of God, an obstinate schismatic, and a manifest heretic." Making all allowance for the more vigorous language of the time and the dogmatic tone which has characterized theological controversy at all times, it is apparent that there lay here the root of a quarrel in which compromise was impossible, and Luther's challenge, if not withdrawn, portended the disruption of the western church.

His supporters

For Luther found allies. Apart from those, like the scholar-theologian, Melanchthon, who supported him, and the still greater scholar-humanist, Erasmus, who more than half sympathized with the new movement, and aided, though he did not join it, the attack was reinforced from other quarters. 1484-1531 In Switzerland, especially, the priest Huldreich Zwingli thundered against the abuses of the church, while, like Luther at Wittenberg, he opposed the sale of indulgences. And though the Saxon and Swiss reformers failed to effect a union, in his native land, the Zürich priest laid enduring foundations for the new communion on which a later reformer was to build a stately edifice. Meanwhile, Luther published his address to the Christian nobles of Germany, issued a tract on the *Babylonish Captivity of the Church,* in which he denounced Papal supremacy and doctrine alike; burned the Papal bull directed against him, and so made the breach all but inevitable.

The Church and the Lutheran Revolt

It was in vain that the Papacy, thus attacked, endeavored to bring the reformers to its side by persuasion and threats. While the Emperor was engaged in foreign wars and his captains were winning a new empire oversea, revolt spread fast and far, and Germany was absorbed in social and religious strife. In the very days that Magellan made land in the Ladrones and Cortez prepared his final attack on Mexico, 1521 Luther appeared before the Emperor and his first Diet at Worms. There his refusal to recant his heresies struck a spark which set Germany in flames. He found powerful support and protectors; and, spirited away from enemies who would not have scrupled at his life, he took refuge in the Elector of Saxony's castle of Wartburg. Thence he proceeded to rouse his countrymen against the Papal power and the abuses of the church. He translated the Bible into German; and thus not only supplied his people with a version of the Scriptures which they could read in their own tongue, but gave to that tongue a literary form which became the foundation of the German language—performing for it the same service that Dante and Petrarch had earlier accomplished for Italian. But it was not merely the defects of the establishment, the literary talents of Luther, the intellectual influence of the new learning, nor the selfish interest of those who saw some advantage to themselves in the break-up of the ecclesiastical system which gave the Reformation its following. Behind these lay a force which, for want of a better name, we call spiritual, and which, however influenced by intellectual or theological considerations, was rather emotional than logical. "It is only on the wings of enthusiasm that we rise, and he who depends on reason alone will never fly." A considerable part of the world was dissatisfied with the spiritual relationship and sustenance provided by Rome. It was ready for a form of spiritual expression more in accord with its changing circumstances and thought—simpler, more direct, less ornate and less highly organized, more personal. In its mind, to adopt a phrase from one of the greatest of the church fathers, it required a church which was more of a "spirit" and less of "a number of ecclesiastics," more individual and less corporate. This want Lutheranism supplied, and to it and its successors, in consequence, that portion of the world turned. To that spirit Luther appealed, and of it, for the moment, he became the principal spokesman, and, in consequence, the hero and the protagonist of the anti-Papal party throughout Europe.

Lutheranism

Meanwhile, his tracts inspired revolt against ecclesiastical authorities and his words became the guiding influence for increasing thousands of his countrymen. With this he gave the new movement form and direction. From his pen appeared in quick succession an Order of the Worship of God, a hymnal, an Order of Baptism, a prayer-book, and a catechism; and with these Lutheranism began to take on form as a communion separate from that of Rome. Based on a more direct relationship with God, it lacked, indeed, the dogmatic coherence of the Roman faith and the unifying influence of a highly organized establishment, and so remained rather a spiritual force than a rigid system of doctrine or a disciplined hierarchy. From it, in time, emerged nine separate creeds, and, so numerous were the forms it took in various hands, so loose its organization, that scarcely a German state but held its own variety of worship.

None the less, amid disputes among the Lutherans themselves, their faith spread rapidly till, despite the efforts of Pope and Emperor, it took its place among the permanent elements of European life. For the first time in her history since the earliest days of Christianity, the continent felt the presence of a school of faith, which elevated the individual above established authority. The "founder of Protestant civilization," Luther and his followers contributed to European life the principle of personal independence in matters spiritual, which, active in other fields, intellectual, and presently political, set the European world on another and greater stage of its progress.

The Reformation in northern Europe

Luther's defiance of the Papacy by his attack upon indulgences, his burning of the Papal bull launched against him, and his refusal to recant before the Diet, mark the beginning of the movement known variously as the Reformation and the Protestant Revolt. With it the breach between the church authorities and those who were dissatisfied with the conduct of affairs was made irrevocable. Increasing numbers of all classes, from prince to peasant, rallied to his cause; and the Lutheran movement became almost immediately as much a social and a political force as a religious phenomenon. It was a standard under which the most diverse elements combined, and its spread was accompanied by those disturbances which general disaffection with existing conditions is certain to produce. It found a speedy echo in regions remote from theological controversy, and in lands unconnected with the fortunes of Germany. In Switzerland, in France, in England, in Scandinavia, even in Italy itself, it stirred men to question the claims and practices of an establishment then ill-prepared to meet its challenge.

Spain and Portugal and the Reformation

Only the Iberian peninsula, absorbed in oversea expansion, paid no heed to this new movement. Nor was this to be wondered at. Spain and Portugal were the last of the crusaders, and still in close touch with the infidel. It had been centuries since France or Germany had felt the presence of Hun or Arab. But within the memory of living men there had been a Moorish kingdom in Spain; and oversea her people, like those of Portugal, still bore the banner of the cross with as fiery zeal as the northern races three centuries earlier had striven to wrest the Holy Sepulcher from Saracen and Turk. With them the church was still a living force, a test of race and blood and national existence, bound up with every fiber of their society. And as, absorbed in war and commerce, they found small leisure for the artistic side of life which had so deeply affected their neighbors, so these new movements of religious thought touched these men of action little or not at all.

The new issues

Thus, as the second decade of the sixteenth century came to a close, apart from their political rivalries and economic change, the people of Europe faced three great issues. The first was the revision of their religious beliefs and their ecclesiastical system. The second was the development of their power oversea. The third was the reconstruction of their intellectual and artistic life in accordance with the standards set by the preceding generation. And it is significant of the diversity as well as the unity of European development that as yet these were but slightly related to each other. The intellectual and artistic impulse was spreading rapidly through the continent, but its principal seat still remained in Italy, which gave it birth. The religious movement began among the Germanic peoples, the oversea expansion with those of the Iberian peninsula, and, though, like the Renaissance and Reformation, these two forces were to be vitally connected with each other in future years, they now ran in widely separated channels. There was thus laid upon the men of the early sixteenth century a burden of such unparalleled magnitude and such diverse aspect that, whether they were to prove themselves competent to solve the problems thus thrust upon them, or what form their solutions would take, one thing was clearly apparent,—Europe could not stand still. Before the third decade of the century had ended the time for peace and compromise, had such a time ever existed, was already past, and, for good or ill, her people had set forth on new and dangerous paths. It was evident that, if these new movements succeeded, the society which emerged from these great tasks would find itself far different in spirit, substance, and practices from that to which, a century before, these problems were all but unknown.

CHAPTER VIII

EUROPE: REFORM AND POLITICS. 1521-1542

THE dozen years which followed the accession of Henry VIII to the English throne form a period of epoch-making events in many fields. The extension of European power through the East, the conquest of Mexico, and the circumnavigation of the world, together with the Lutheran revolt, had altered the whole aspect of affairs, and portended still greater developments in religion and politics alike. At the same time Francis I's attack on Italy and Henry VIII's invasion of France, with the consolidation of the lands of Hapsburg, Burgundy, Castile, and Aragon under Charles V, presaged a new era of international relationships. For the moment, Europe's most pressing concerns were the antagonism between Francis and Charles, and the events which flowed from Luther's challenge to the Papacy. The one, which formed the great outstanding motive of general European affairs in the oncoming period, was wholly political. The other covered a wider field. For the Reformation, as it came to be called, involved not merely questions of the church, but those of state, and, ultimately, of world polity, greater and more far-reaching than even the Franco-Hapsburg rivalry; issues of profound social and economic importance; and an intellectual movement of scarcely less intensity than the ecclesiastical controversy with which it was bound up. 1509-21

The renewal of the Italian wars 1517-25

This was, however, not so clearly evident in the first months of Luther's revolt against Papal authority, for the attention of the continent was centered on the most recent development in that phase of the Hapsburg-Valois rivalry, which for more than twenty years had found expression in the Italian wars. The sudden and daring stroke by which Francis I at the moment of his antagonist's accession to the Spanish throne

had brought Genoa and Milan into his hands had been followed by a "perpetual peace." This, joined to a concordat with the Papacy, seemed to assure to France predominance abroad, and the so-called Gallican liberties of her church at home against the interference of the Vatican. The summer
1520 of 1520, which was marked by Cortez' attack on Mexico and Luther's appeal to the German nobility, saw a conference between the Emperor and his aunt's husband, Henry VIII of England, and another between Francis I and Henry on the "Field of the Cloth of Gold." These meetings, under more favorable auspices, might have evidenced a reconciliation of all western Christendom and joint action to solve the great problems then pressing on society.

But those problems were far from the thoughts of the ambitious princes, absorbed in the extension of their own power and the humiliation of their rivals. Far from being the harbingers of peace, these conferences were but the prel-
1521 ude to new European conflicts. The Emperor revived his claims upon Milan and Burgundy. Francis countered with pretensions to Naples and Spanish Navarre. Each sought the
1522 aid of England; and within a twelvemonth the nations were again at war. In quick succession the French were driven from Italy and Navarre. Charles V's diplomacy enlisted the English monarch in his cause; the Pope joined in. The constable of France, Charles of Bourbon, threw in his lot with
1523 the Imperialists; and France was invaded simultaneously from Spain, England, and Germany. Thus isolated, Francis rallied all his energies, drove out the invaders, and pushed

The battle of Pavia

into Lombardy. Repulsed by their forces which again invaded his territories and laid siege to Marseilles, he defeated them, followed them again into Italy, and besieged Pavia. But his zeal outran his discretion, for, flushed with victory,
1525 he despatched a force to occupy Naples; and the Imperialists, seizing their opportunity, fell on his weakened army, destroyed it, and made the French king prisoner. Such was the first of the long series of conflicts between Francis and Charles, which commanded the attention of Europe. Since the English triumphs at Agincourt and Poitiers a hundred

years before, France had suffered no such reverse as that which brought this struggle to an end and carried her king a captive to Madrid.

Revolt in Germany

Yet with all its dramatic circumstance and tragic climax, the Italian war yielded in real importance to events elsewhere, and the victorious Emperor, despite his great success, found himself at the moment of his triumph over Francis I compelled to deal with a situation beside which even the results of the battle of Pavia seemed almost insignificant. For, while Charles had been so busily engaged in the extension of his boundaries, in the heart of his dominions his authority, with that of the church, had been challenged by the new forces roused in Germany which now threatened the very foundations of society. This result of Luther's activities was no less surprising than it was important, for the Wittenberg professor's refusal to recant his doctrines before the Diet of Worms had been followed by an edict which condemned him as a heretic. Such an action, supported 1521 by an engagement between the Emperor and the Pope to suppress the new movement, had seemed amply sufficient to those arbiters of Christendom to crush the presumptuous monk.

But had the Pope and Emperor abandoned northern Italy to the French king and bent their strength against the German professor they might have been better advised. For while they triumphed over their mutual enemy, Francis I, Luther had laid the foundations for a movement disastrous to Papal and Imperial authority alike, roused his countrymen by fiery attacks upon the old establishment, and transformed the Empire into a battleground. Almost at once men sprang to arms, and long-smoldering discontent flamed into civil war.

The War of the Knights

The circumstances were symbolic of the forces thus newly aligned in opposition to each other and to constituted authority. The conflict began with a romantic episode. Two knights, the humanist Ulrich von Hutten and the adventurer 1522-3 Franz von Sickingen, united by their hatred of the princely class, gathered forces and fell upon the Archbishop of

Treves. For a time it seemed that they might have a measure of success. But their rash enterprise challenged at once the temporal and spiritual arms. Lay and ecclesiastical authorities rallied against them and they were beaten off. Hutten was driven into exile, and Sickingen found defeat and death in his own castle at the hands of his princely enemies.

The Peasants' War

This was but the beginning of disturbances. While the war of the princes and the knights was being determined, in other quarters and in different hands another rebellion disturbed Germany. This was the so-called Peasants' War. 1524-5 Two years after the death of Sickingen, at the moment that Francis I invaded Italy for the second time, a flame of revolt ran through southern and western Germany, menacing the same elements on which the knights had warred. Like many such movements which preceded it, the ''Bundschuh,'' as it was called, was a compound of social, political, and religious elements, inspired no less by the ''false prophets'' following Luther's wake than by the real and bitter grievances of the peasantry. Its leaders based their cause on a long list of rights and wrongs, so-called ''Twelve Articles,'' which combined a constitution for Germany, church reform, and a reorganization of society on the basis of greater equality. It was inevitable that such a plan, so many centuries in advance of its days, should fail, especially in such hands and in such times. Against it rulers of all ranks and faiths, the middle classes, every interest of property and government combined; and Luther, to whom the rebels looked for aid, denounced the peasants as he had denounced the knights. Their poorly equipped and worse led forces were defeated and destroyed; their leaders killed; their survivors and sympathizers cruelly punished, and the unfortunate peasantry sank into bondage worse than that from which they had sought vainly to escape.

Such were the external circumstances of the movements which filled the annals of the Empire while its master strove with the French king for Italy, and Luther's doctrines made way through the Teutonic lands. And though the two rebellions were suppressed, though knights and peasants alike met an untimely fate, their ill-advised, disastrous defiance of authority was of greater significance than the Imperial triumphs beyond the Alps. They threw into high relief the problem which confronted every European state at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and which was nowhere more apparent than in Germany—the problem of the transition from a feudal to a national form of government.

The problem of the Empire

In the Empire this developed into an antagonism between the five elements which existed in some form in every state. The Emperor, intent on the establishment of a centralized monarchy under the Hapsburg dynasty, the Electors, "bent upon an aristocratic federation" in which they should be the dominant element; the princes, small and great, determined to maintain the territorial independence which was their feudal heritage; the towns and peasants dreaming of a share in the government which pressed upon them so heavily and so unequally:—these were the forces which contended for equality or supremacy. The issue had been foreseen and in some measure dealt with by Maximilian. Now, complicated by the advent of the Lutherans, it confronted Charles; and, amid the infinite perplexities of his foreign relations, it remained one of the greatest problems of his long reign and those of his successors.

For its solution Germany was to wait for many centuries. But these rebellions made it a pressing concern of Imperial politics. In the Peasants' Revolt lay the germs of that vast and underlying discontent, engendered by oppression and inequality, which, growing through the centuries, was to become a dominant motive of much later history. In the rebellion of the knights was revealed that anarchic force whose suppression was the first condition of national kingship. This force, proving itself stronger than the Imperial power, was to bring the Empire to impotence, and, joined to the religious issue, was to accomplish the ruin of Germany. Had Charles or his advisers been able to crush opposition, or had the princes been willing to unite in reasonable compromise, those evils might have been averted and a united Germany might have emerged. The chance was lost, and the current of events closed over these futile revolts, leaving only an eddy to mark the hidden rock on which later authority was to find shipwreck.

The Turks 1525

Meanwhile, the Empire was called to face another and, it seemed to men of the time, a far more real danger than the rising of a handful of peasants and men-at-arms. This was the Turk, to whom, in his extremity, the king of France had turned and for the first time made the Ottoman power a part of European polity. 1526 Compelled to sign the Treaty of Madrid by which he yielded all things in dispute from Burgundy through Italy to Navarre, Francis had turned to the Ottoman Sultan, Suleiman the Magnificent, for aid. Under his lead the Turks had roused to fresh conquest, and poured their armies into Hungary, where at the moment of the Treaty of Madrid they crushed Hungarian chivalry at Mohacs, took Buda Pesth, and prepared to advance against Vienna. Nor was this the only danger confronting the lately victorious Emperor. Fearful of his increasing power after the battle of Pavia, Venice, Milan, and the Pope formed a league against him. The English king joined France, and 1527 Francis I, renouncing the terms extorted at Madrid, despatched his troops again across the Alps. Thus realigned, the European powers entered upon another seven years of conflict, at the same moment that Germany felt the full force of Lutheran revolt.

The Peace of Cambrai 1527

Once more Charles faced a world of enemies, and once more the continent was rent with all but universal war. Rome was punished for changing sides by Bourbon's army, half Catholic, half Lutheran Imperialists, which sacked the Holy City and turned thence to drive the French from the 1528 peninsula. Still undismayed by this reverse, Francis again invaded Lombardy, while his allies, the Turks, pressed forward to besiege Vienna, but with the same result. Four 1529 years after the treaty which had released him from captivity, he was driven to sign the Peace of Cambrai. By it he gave up all his claims on Italy, pretensions to the suzerainty of Artois and Flanders; and though he kept Burgundy, he surrendered Tournai, and paid Charles an indemnity of two million crowns. At the same time, the Imperial forces triumphed in the East. The attack upon Vienna failed; the Sultan's forces drew back to Buda Pesth, and Charles again emerged triumphant over his enemies.

Results of the wars

Thus ended, for a time, the conflicts which had absorbed the military and diplomatic energies of Europe for a decade and a half. Save in one direction, the results scarcely seemed to justify the efforts put forth. It is apparent that if European civilization was to be preserved, the Turkish power must be checked in its advance, and that achievement went far toward vindicating the policy and activities of the Empire as the defender of the continent, in the same measure that it condemned the action of Francis I in summoning the Sultan to his aid. It is not easy to determine in how far the long and complex struggle in Italy was due to mere princely ambition, or in how far it represented real underlying antagonisms of peoples and principles, like the contest between the Empire and the Turks. It may have served to check the extension of Charles V's power throughout the continent, and so prevented universal sovereignty. But that these wars, with their huge expenditure of blood and treasure, contributed to the world's progress in proportion to the losses they inflicted, is scarcely probable. With all their current interest and the consequence which must inevitably attach to any such expression of human energy, however ill directed, it is evident that the true development of humanity lay along far different lines.

By the Treaty of Barcelona Charles came to terms again 1529 with the Papacy, returned Florence to the Medici, and Milan to the Sforza, and received in exchange the Papal sanction to his title to Naples and to the Imperial crown. In so far he achieved his purposes. But had it been possible for him to devote to the reorganization of Germany the resources expended in achieving these barren successes in Italy, it can scarcely be doubted that Europe would have gained immeasurably by the exchange.

From the pursuit of his Italian ambitions the Emperor turned to the two great problems which pressed not merely upon him but upon the whole of the European world with peculiar force, the progress of the Reformation in Germany, and the coincident development of affairs in England, each of which, at the moment of the signature of peace, came to a climax which troubled Pope and Emperor alike. They were, indeed, as events were to prove, but two sides of the same question, though they presented themselves in very different forms.

The German Reformation 1526

First in time, if not in importance, was the situation in Germany, where religious affairs, as usual, had followed the course of the Emperor's fortunes abroad. Scarcely had the Treaty of Madrid been signed when a Diet of Spires, taking heart from the Imperial success, approved the old edict of Worms condemning Luther's heresy; and, at the moment of the Treaty of Cambrai, a second Diet of Spires reaffirmed that action. With this the crisis came. A group of princes of the Empire, headed by the rulers of Hesse, Brandenburg, and Saxony, protested against the edict and withdrew from the Diet. Thus did the name and sect of Protestants come into formal being, and thus was the Emperor summoned from foreign victory to face a crisis at home.

1529

The divorce of Henry VIII and the reform movement

At the same moment England claimed his care. Its ruler, the proud, licentious, cruel Henry VIII, had long chafed under Charles' dominance, and long desired to divorce his queen, Katherine of Aragon, the Emperor's aunt. Under ordinary circumstances the matrimonial affairs of royalty, whatever their relation to domestic politics and common morality, would have been a matter of scarcely more than mere political interest. But the conditions at the moment were far from usual. Thus far the English king's ambitions had been thwarted by Charles' adroit diplomacy. He had played no part of any consequence in European affairs; and the Pope, subject to Imperial influence, had taken his presents and postponed his divorce. Henry had now reached the end of his limited patience and exhausted the ordinary channels of legal procedure, and, infatuated with a lady of the court, Anne Boleyn, he determined on a drastic move.

1529

In the month of the peace of Cambrai a trial for divorce began before the English chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey, and the Papal legate, Campeggio. The suit broke down, as it was meant to do; the queen appealed to Rome; and Henry, thoroughly enraged, appealed to the European universities against the Pope. At the same time, to fortify his position, he called a Parliament, whose earliest acts revealed antagonism to the church establishment, and so strengthened his hands in the impending conflict with Papal authority. Not merely was a breach with Charles thus made inevitable. At the same moment that the seceding German princes formally inaugurated the Protestant movement on the continent, Henry, who had earlier earned the title of Defender of the Faith from the Papacy for his attack upon Luther, gave to the revolt from Rome a powerful if unintentional impetus.

That revolt, in the meantime, had invaded other lands. **1527-9** France, Scandinavia, and the Netherlands had felt its power; while Sweden had become formally Protestant. **Protestantism** Thus, facing new dangers from the Turks, embarrassed by the defection of his own subjects as well as by the action of the English king, Charles was compelled again to compromise. Bavaria's jealousy of the Hapsburg power, the formation of a Protestant League at Schmalkald, **1530** together with French and Danish readiness to aid his recalcitrant subjects, completed his discomfiture. The Diet of Augsburg had listened to the Protestant Confession presented by Luther's follower, Melanchthon, but again condemned its heresy. Two years later, so rapidly did events move, the Peace of Nuremberg **1532** revoked the edict of Augsburg, the Imperial authorities agreed to consider the claims of the new communion, and the Protestants were allowed to exercise their religion undisturbed until some solution of the question should be reached.

Thus, by one of the curious coincidences of history, the ambitions of a Turkish sultan and a French king, the matrimonial affairs of an English ruler and the jealousy of a German house combined with the spiritual aspirations of the so-called Protestants to perpetuate the reformed doctrines and ensure the weakening of the church establishment. This, after a thousand years of absolute supremacy, now found itself shorn of half its members and all of its unquestioned monopoly of European conscience. Thenceforth the Pope remained, indeed, the head of the most considerable body of Christians. But he was no longer the arbiter of Christendom; and the church which owed him allegiance, though still a powerful influence in European life, no longer included within its ranks the whole company of those intellectual and spiritual leaders who were to make Europe the dominant power of a modern world.

Secularization

Almost immediately two circumstances which marked the political development of this momentous period made this more evident. As a result of the spread of the Lutheran doctrines and the peculiar situation in which a considerable section of the princely classes found themselves, many holders of the so-called ecclesiastical fiefs, church officials in name, but in fact lay princes, sought to take advantage of the breach with the Papacy to espouse the new communion and transform their churchly possessions into temporal sovereignties. Among these the first was the most conspicuous. Albert of Hohenzollern, grand master of the Teutonic Knights, and ruler of East Prussia, which had been conquered centuries earlier by that crusading order from the 1525 pagan Slavs, transferred his spiritual allegiance to the Reformed church, became a feudatory of the king of Poland, and thus led the way not only in the secularization of such fiefs but to the ultimate aggrandizement of the house of Brandenburg.

Scandinavia—the independence of Sweden

At the same time, and partly under the influence of the same impulse, the long-vexed Scandinavian question came to a head. The close of the fourteenth century had seen Norway, Denmark, and Sweden joined into one kingdom by the 1397 Union of Colmar, under the rule of Margaret, the "Semiramis of the North." That arrangement, which had continued under the house of Oldenburg, had grown increasingly distasteful to the Swedes; and at the moment of Luther's appearance at Worms, the overthrow of their rebellious 1521 leaders by Christian II, followed by persecution, produced a crisis in the peninsula. Under the leadership of a popular 1523 hero, Gustavus Vasa, the men of the district of Dalecarlia serious. And, with the spread of the Reformed doctrines, there arose a sect which, in some form, was to play a considerable part in the development of the Protestant body. This was the so-called Anabaptist denomination, whose earliest representatives, the ''false prophets of Zwickau,'' had been denounced by Luther, and whose leader, Münzer, had played a great part in the peasant insurrection. A year after the peace of Nuremberg the city of Münster came under **1533-5** the influence of this element, and a period of licentious anarchy ensued, which was finally suppressed by the neighboring Protestant princes. Shorn of its doctrines of free-love and retaining only so much of the ideas of community of goods as fitted the circumstances in which it found itself, this body, with its cardinal principle of adult baptism, became the forerunner of the German Mennonites and the English Baptists, and perhaps the most powerful of the democratic influences then making way in the world of religion and politics.

John Calvin 1509-64

While it thus joined the revolt against constituted authority with its extravagant views and practices, in another quarter and in widely different hands that movement was stimulated to a far greater degree and by means which left a still deeper impress upon European thought and action. In the same year that the English Parliament began its attack upon the property of the church by suppressing the lesser monasteries, that the Portuguese established themselves in Macao and the Spaniards in Lima, that Charles V and Francis I entered upon their fourth war, and Cartier reached Canada on his second and most important voyage,—which is to say in 1536,—a French clerk, John Calvin, published at Basel **1536** a volume entitled *Christianae Religionis Institutio,* the Institution of the Christian Religion, more commonly known as Calvin's *Institutes.* With this new manual of the theory and practice of Christianity, as it appealed to him, he laid the foundations of a new communion. The author was no less notable than his book. The son of a French notary, he had reversed Luther's career, for, destined to the church, he gave up that profession for the law. First at Paris, **1523-**

then at Orleans, and finally at Bourges, he pursued his 1529 studies, and meanwhile he was drawn, like so many men of his time, into the theological dispute then raging on the continent. A kinsman engaged in translating the Scriptures into French sent him to a famous Greek scholar at Bourges, and from reformer and humanist he received at once 1534-5 a bias against Rome and an impulse to letters. The persecution of the Protestants instituted by Francis in conjunction with the Emperor drove Calvin from France to avoid death at the stake—which was the fate of so many hundreds of Protestants—and he sought refuge at Basel, where he found a publisher and an audience for his book.

Calvinism Its appearance marked an epoch in European history. Designed to furnish a complete and logical defense of Protestantism, Calvin's doctrine was distinguished by its dogma of the predestination of certain elect souls to salvation, and of others to be damned. It appealed to many who had been untouched by Luther's vaguer formulas. Sterner, more logical, better organized than the loose-woven Lutheran belief, it embodied a doctrine and a discipline which lent themselves more readily to a widespread sentiment of revolt, political as well as theological. It set against the Roman episcopal form of church government the no less ancient, though long-neglected, practice of government by elders or presbyters. In opposition to the Roman principle of priestly mediation, it joined with Lutheranism in teaching a direct relationship between man and God. To the splendor of Catholic liturgy it opposed extreme simplicity; in place of Latin mass it offered a service in the tongue of every-day affairs. Its congregational system, its appeal to logic rather than revelation, its unbending insistence on personal morality, connected it with an increasing element in European thought and practice; and, as uncompromising as the older faith, it soon became the most vigorous fighting force of the reformed communions. Besides this, still it had a powerful political element in its doctrine of the righteousness of resistance to unbridled tyranny. "Let us not think," the pregnant passage ran, "there is given no other commandment but to obey and suffer. . . . I do so not forbid them . . . to withstand outraging licentiousness of kings; and I affirm that if they wink at kings wilfully raging over and treading down the poor commonalty, their dissembling is not without wicked breach of faith because they deceitfully betray the people's liberty."

Such was the challenge to political authority, such the summons to revolt against oppression issued by him who was called in derision by his enemies "the Protestant Pope." It was accompanied by another element which made its appeal peculiarly attractive to an increasing class. This was the glorification of what may be called the homelier virtues, sobriety, diligence, thrift, honesty, above all, diligent industry. It exhorted to an orderly and successful life in this world scarcely less than it held out rewards in the world to come, and its appeal to middle classes and commercial elements was therefore powerfully aided by the elevation of their particular virtues as a means of grace. As Calvin's ideal of government was "a mixed aristocracy and democracy," his ideal of society was that of well-ordered, industrious, sober, God-fearing middle class, working, under Providence, for material prosperity.

Geneva 1536-

That ideal he strove to put into effect. He was induced to settle at Geneva, there to aid in the establishment of a popular government; and thither, after a sojourn in Strasburg, he returned. Under his influence the Swiss city soon became **1538** not merely a model municipality, governed by the church authority on lines of the strictest morality, but a religious center not incomparable to Rome itself. In its activities **1541-** the labors of the earlier reformers, Zwingli and Farel, and **1564** Calvin's contemporary, Beza, came to a climax and thence spread throughout Europe.

Spread of Calvinism 1540-

Trained in its university, hundreds of preachers carried its doctrines abroad. Thence John Knox was presently to bear its faith and discipline to Scotland, there to found another branch of Protestantism, the so-called Presbyterian, destined to great influence in British affairs. Among the

1560 French trading classes and nobility, restive under royal and Papal authority, the Calvinistic influence laid the foundations of a powerful faction, the so-called Huguenots. The northern portion of the Netherlands became a stronghold of this faith which was soon to make Holland a battleground of liberty. Along the Rhine, even in northern Italy, it gained adherents, till it became a far more dangerous rival to Rome and to unlimited royal authority than even the Lutheran heresy.

Education, printing, and the Bible Like that movement, it found a powerful ally in the printing-press. In every country which the Reformation touched, the Bible was translated into its native tongue, and this, apart from theological considerations, gave a tremendous stimulus to national language and literature as to greater freedom of thought and speech. ''If God spare my life,'' said Tyndale, the English translator of the Bible, to a critic of the old school, ''I will cause a boy that driveth a plow to know more of the Scriptures than thou dost''; and that promise, before he met his death as a martyr, he greatly fulfilled. In such hands the Gospel became not the prerogative of the few but the privilege of the many. With the appearance in England of Coverdale's translation, *The Great Bible,* to supplement others like Luther's German version and Faber's *French New Testament,* Europe was at last possessed of her greatest weapon against ecclesiastical monopoly.

1539-40

1523

To this democratizing of theology was added another force, the schools. As they had been the earliest centers of revolt, the universities were among the first to propagate the movement. Education, which had ceased to be ecclesiastical in those countries which accepted the reform, now became Protestant. They trained a new clergy, and through them a new laity. And their members became the most active of pamphleteers, as almost from day to day new tracts appeared to fan the flame. Luther's words were multiplied by thousands; and of Calvin's *Institutes,* it has been calculated, a new edition appeared every ten weeks for more than a hundred years. Under such influences, a quarter of a century after Luther had nailed his theses to the Wittenberg church door, what had then seemed a hopeless cause threatened the very existence of Papal authority in half the continent.

The rise of the Counter-Reformation

1520-1540

Yet with all the successes of the Protestant communions in the decade and a half which followed Luther's advent on the European stage, it could not be supposed that the older establishment was either insensible to its danger nor without strong champions. The very vigor of the Protestants was in some sort a measure of the strength of the Catholic cause. Still less could it be imagined that the Papacy would rely wholly on edicts and persecution for its maintenance, much less on its own temporal power or that of the sovereigns who held its doctrines. From the first a multitude of champions had rallied to its aid. England's great chancellor, More, had fallen a martyr to his convictions against Henry VIII's divorce and the royal renunciation of Papal authority. Every Protestant pamphlet found an answer from Catholic hands. Every university in Catholic countries had thrown its reviving energies into the fray. The clergy of every Catholic nation had taken heed of the danger which threatened their order and had begun to purify the establishment. In Italy had begun a reform within the church which spread rapidly throughout the continent. New orders had sprung up, which, like the so-called Capuchins, brought to the conflict the spirit of preceding centuries of devotion and self-sacrifice. In every quarter of the European world Roman Catholicism revealed a renaissance of those nobler qualities which had characterized its earlier supremacy. And, among the effects of the great Protestant Revolt, not the least was this movement toward the reform of the old establishment, which, as time went on, came to be known as the Counter-Reformation.

Ignatius Loyola

1491-1556

In the moment of its greatest need the church found new resources and a great ally. The story is no less remarkable than that of the growth of the reformed communions. At the same time that Calvin left Paris, a lame Spanish soldier, Ignatius Loyola, so wounded at the siege of Pampeluna in

1528- the wars of Charles and Francis as to wreck his military career, found his way to the Sorbonne, to seek in the service of the church a consolation for his worldly ambitions. There 1535 as a student he spent seven years, gathered about him a small company of friends and followers of like mind, and at almost the same moment that Calvin held his first communion service at Orleans, at Montmartre Loyola and his companions dedicated their lives to the church. Their new society was modeled upon the older fellowships of the so-called friars, like the Franciscans and Dominicans, but with new and compelling elements of strength. Besides its vows of poverty and chastity were principles of strict discipline and unquestioning obedience. Peaceful in method, subject to the most rigid rules of self-effacement and self-sacrifice, shrinking at nothing to effect its ends, the new organization, under its general, sprang to the defense of the threatened establishment. The Pope sanctioned the order, at first conditionally, then unreservedly, and the Society of Jesus took its place in European life.

The Jesuits

Like the Protestant reformers, it grasped almost at once the importance and opportunity of education in the cause of faith, and its members soon became the best schoolmasters in Europe. It recognized, as well, the power of the secular arm and of established authority and so detailed the acutest intellects at its command as confessors to princes and statesmen. It realized the urgent need of gaining popular support, and so trained its preachers in the art of eloquent appeal. And seeing the great field beyond Europe for converts, it entered at once on missionary labors not exceeded by those first followers of St. Francis or St. Dominic. Thus while its marvelous organization kept it in touch with the affairs in every quarter of Europe, its most highly placed agent might at a moment's notice find himself transferred to the most distant part of Asia or America; and its all-pervading influence was presently to become a factor no less in political than in ecclesiastical affairs.

Francis Xavier 1506-52

In this great order, besides Loyola himself, one figure stood conspicuous as the chief representative of its far-reaching missionary enterprise,—the proud, handsome, gifted Navarrese, Francis Xavier. He had become the secretary of the order at Rome as soon as it was formally organized; thence he was summoned to undertake the mission which John III had determined to send out to India; and he arrived at Goa in the same year that saw the Spanish and Portuguese empires reach their widest bounds. With his coming the great religious movement which stirred Europe was transmitted to her possessions oversea. 1542

The Counter-Reformation in Portugal and Spain

It was peculiarly appropriate that the society destined to play so great a part in European history should be founded by a Spaniard and enter the colonial field under the auspices of Portugal. In the latter's dominions, especially, there seemed to be need of such a force. Absorbed in war, commerce, and politics, the Portuguese had long refused to jeopardize their position in the East by interfering with the native faiths. Churchmen, indeed, had followed where the traders led, as they accompanied the conquerors in America. Churches were raised, the orders had built houses in the greater ports; viceroys and governors had lent their influence and purse; converts were made. Yet in comparison with the general progress, or even with the activities of Franciscan and Dominican in America, the total was not great. Ten years after the accession of the devout John III there were only two bishoprics outside of Portugal, and they were no farther away than Madeira and Morocco.

1542- But as the religious rivalry between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, as these movements came to be called, brought the issue of faith to a crisis, they had their effect on the Iberian powers. While northern peoples tended to adopt the new communions, both Spain and Portugal took the opposite course. The Inquisition was revived and strengthened; the Jews were driven to conversion or exile; the Jesuits were welcomed with open arms. In Goa the Hindu temples, thus far undisturbed, were marked out for destruction. A new era of proselyting and persecution was begun; and to her long crusade against Mohammedanism the Portuguese now added an attack on all non-Christian faiths, which reinforced the hatred of her trade supremacy. In the New World, meanwhile, the problem was different. There Spain had, from the first, endeavored to crush native priesthoods and convert her subjects. And when the Jesuits were added to the orders which followed or accompanied the conquerors, the church found its way into new quarters of the western hemisphere with zealous and self-sacrificing strength. The Argentine pampas, like the Andean heights, the tangled wilderness of the Amazon and Central America, like the wide-stretching empire of New Spain, felt a fresh impulse of religious zeal, as the first result of the Reformation on extra-European peoples. Like its effect in politics, the earliest religious reaction of the new world upon Europe was the extension of Catholicism as part of the great movement toward ecclesiastical reform.

The transition to modern times

Such were the events of the momentous quarter of a century which elapsed between the advent of Luther in Europe and of Xavier in the East, between the exploits of Cortez and Magellan and the summons to the last church council which could be called in any sense universal, the Council of Trent. 1517-42 They form the turning-point from mediæval to modern history in even greater measure than the capture of Constantinople by the Turks or the discovery of America. For in this period the newer elements of European life were established beyond the power of the older doctrines or practices to suppress them; and, for good or ill, these elements thenceforth became the guiding motives of the progressive factors in society. America and the Reformation, coming thus simultaneously into the current of affairs, as part of everyday experience, not merely produced new conditions of life and a series of institutions which affected every phase of existence. They transformed men's minds. Henceforth it was impossible to think in terms of even the preceding century. Above the mere facts of battles lost and won, dynasties changed and territories transferred from one hand to another, this great revolution, in the final analysis, remains the chief result of a period which more than any for a thousand years altered the balance of the world's affairs and the whole future of mankind, and so marks the Age of Charles V as a great epoch of history.

CHAPTER IX

EUROPE BEYOND THE SEA. 1521-1542

The delimitation of the world

COMPARED with the activities of Europe's captains and kings in the momentous quarter of a century which followed the accession of Charles to the Spanish throne, and especially compared with the Protestant revolt, the progress of Europeans beyond the sea which resulted from the exploits of Albuquerque and Cortez seemed insignificant. Yet though colonial affairs were overshadowed by events in Europe, after a period of relative inaction they entered on an era of importance to themselves and to the world in general. The death of Emmanuel the Fortunate, which occurred at the moment of the Diet of Worms and the final attack on Mexico, marked the beginning of a great change in Portuguese as in European affairs. Though John III, who succeeded to the throne, enjoyed the greatness he inherited, he added little to it, and the first decade of his long reign witnessed but one considerable event. This was the delimitation of the world, which the voyage of the *Victoria* made imperative. Scarcely was she in port when Spain declared that the bull of Alexander VI held good only with respect to the Atlantic, and that the treaty of Tordesillas was now inadequate. Spanish and Portuguese geographers accordingly met at the frontier towns of Badajos-Yelves, and while German peasants fought along the Rhine, and French forces invaded Lombardy, the Iberian diplomat-scientists argued for six weeks with small results. In default of means to determine exact longitude it was impossible to arrive at a theoretical solution of the conflicting claims. And when, to confirm her contentions, Spain sent Loaysa on a voyage like and scarcely less exhausting than that of Magellan, he found, when he arrived on the other side of the world, that he

1521 **1524**

could neither return the way he came nor reach home by any other route without the permission of the Portuguese. No circumstance could have demonstrated more conclusively the strength of Portugal's position in the East. Charles V bowed to the inevitable, gave up his claim on the Moluccas for an indemnity, and by the Treaty of Saragossa, a line was drawn on the Equator 17° east of that group, and Spain was thus excluded from the Philippines. That exclusion she ignored, and the claim to that archipelago remained the chief political result of Magellan's exploit. 1529

Spanish expansion

—the Argentine

Under these circumstances, for the second time in a generation and the last time in history, the world was divided into Spanish and Portuguese spheres of influence. More important than that adjudication, or even the possession of the Philippines, was the voyage of Sebastian Cabot which resulted from the controversy. For, following the track of Magellan and Loaysa to South America, he reached a river which he called, from the silver ornaments worn by the natives, the Rio de la Plata, or River of Silver. Thence he explored the Uruguay and Parana rivers to the rapids of the latter which barred his further progress, and so opened to European enterprise a vast and fertile land better adapted to white occupation than any then known to his countrymen. Almost at once it found settlers. A Basque nobleman, Pedro de Mendoza, with his fellow adventurers, hastened to lay foundations for what was to be ultimately a prosperous colony, and, what was of even greater interest to the bolder spirits of Spain's colonists, to learn of a rich empire beyond the mountains. In such fashion was established European power in the Argentine. 1526-1527 1534-1535

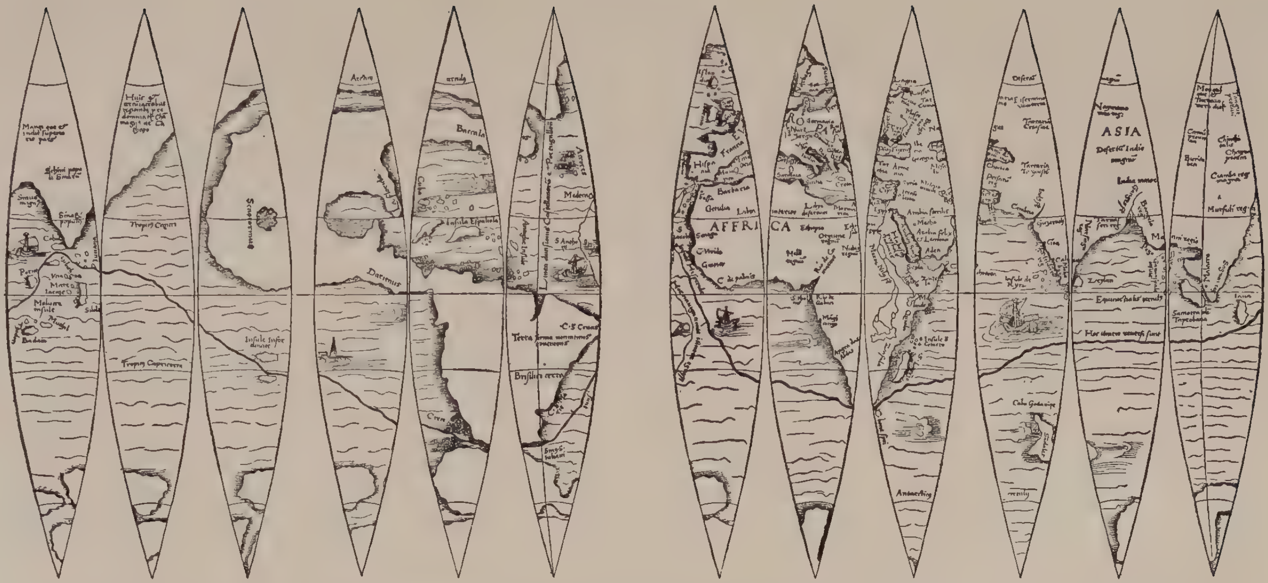
Central and North America

Meanwhile from Mexico and the West Indies had begun a fresh advance. Its first achievement was the extension of Cortez' conquest. Scarcely had Montezuma's empire been subjugated when Alvarado, de Olid, Montejo, and their great leader himself proceeded to subdue Central America; while Guzman, advancing northward, founded the province of New Galicia. With this, the whole region between North and South America took its place in the rapidly widening realm 1523-1525

of Charles V. At the same time Ponce de Leon made a last
and, as it proved, a fatal attempt on Florida. Still farther
north a series of expeditions brought the eastern shores of
North America to European attention. So great was the
advance in geographical knowledge that, at the moment
that the breach with Rome was made irrevocable in Germany,
1529 Ribeiro embodied in a famous map the whole Atlantic coast
from Newfoundland to Cape Horn. The Spaniards were not
alone in this great work, for Francis I, emulous of his rival's
1524 success, sent his Italian captain, Giovanni Verrazano, to seek
the fabled sea-way to Cathay by the northwest. And though
Spanish discovery brought no settlers to a region "too much
like Spain" to attract the fortune hunters of the new world,
though Verrazano found no passage to the Pacific by way
of the St. Lawrence, the Americas now took their place in
European politics and thought, at the same time that
Protestantism, in whose fortunes they were to play so great
a part, established itself upon the continent.

The organization of Mexico

This interest extended far beyond mere exploration and
gold-seeking. While the new world was being laid open to
European eyes, the conquered mainland was occupied and
organized. In this work Cortez revealed statesmanlike qualities
scarcely inferior to his abilities as a general, and, in
1525-1535 spite of the curtailment of his authority by a home government,
which was suspicious of his increasing power, he proceeded
to make Mexico into a Spanish province. The land
was parceled out in military fiefs, and the *encomenderos*
required to provide arms and followers, proportioned to their
holdings, subject to call after the feudal fashion. Cannon
were cast from the products of the native mines; the crater
of Popocatepetl supplied sulphur for gunpowder; ships were
built, and ports established. The new city of Mexico rose
near the ruins of the old, and, chartered as a municipality,
became the capital, of which the people of the neighboring
tribes were induced to become inhabitants. European plants
and animals were introduced; planting and cattle-raising,
mining and commerce encouraged, and, as Spanish power
spread, it carried with it the seeds of European life.



This map reproduces the twelve segments which, when pasted on a sphere, made J. Schöner's globe of 1523. They are especially interesting, as showing the route of Magellan and his companions whose ship is returning along the Guinea coast. It will also be observed that the map of the Americas from Florida south is as good as northern North America is poor. The demarcation line should also be noted.

With this came the authority of the home government. Hardly had the conquest been concluded when a viceroy was appointed for the new province, with a council, or *audiencia,* to assist and supervise his work, and provincial governors were named. The church accompanied the civil power. Bishoprics were established and missionaries pushed out among the natives. Beside the square solid government buildings in the new municipalities arose the churches; and across the plain or deep in the heart of forest wilderness was soon heard the bell of the mission church, symbol of that force which was to do far more than any official agency in spreading European civilization through the New World.

The effect of America on Europe

Beside the activities of Europe itself in this eventful decade and a half, these beginnings of the occupation and organization of America seem insignificant enough. Yet apart from the fact that they represented an element in the world's affairs which was to be of increasing importance, they were not without a powerful influence upon events in the old world. From Mexico, in particular, there had poured a stream of precious metals into Spain of incalculable importance not merely to the economic but to the political development of the continent. Enriched by that spoil, the Spanish mind was turned from the sober pursuit of every-day affairs, in which alone lay real prosperity, to dreams of further conquest and adventure, and Spain, like her master, Charles V, aspired to a still wider influence in the world's affairs.

Not the least of the results of the conquest of Mexico was the strengthening of the Hapsburg power, and the inevitable reaction of Europe, under the leadership of France, against the threat of universal sovereignty. Insurgent Hungarians, dissatisfied Italian princes, Swiss peasantry, Tudor king, and Ottoman Sultan had been summoned to contend against Hapsburg domination. And great as were the resources of the Emperor, the weight of America, thus thrown into the European scale, was no inconsiderable factor in enabling him to make head against his enemies. At the same time the church, deprived of a great body of adherents at home, found, in the millions of non-European peoples now brought under her influence, some compensation for the losses of the Reformation. Thus, strangely enough, the first result of the occupation of the New World was to strengthen the conservative elements in European polity. And, almost immediately, another event, of like character to Cortez' great exploit, lent new significance to the importance of the Americas and new strength to the Hapsburg power.

European politics

1532

The year 1532, though not a great landmark in history like that twelvemonth which saw the fall of Constantinople or that which witnessed the discovery of America, is one of those peculiar periods when the coincidence of striking events in various lines of human activity reveals with unusual emphasis the complex forces from whose interaction emerges a new order of society. In July of that year the Emperor, Charles V, harassed by the disturbances in his newly-won Italian provinces, and still more fearful of the Turkish power, now rallying from its repulse from Vienna three years before, summoned the Imperial Diet to meet at Nuremberg, and there agreed to extend still further toleration to the Lutheran sect which had so vexed his peace and that of Germany for a dozen years. In August the heroic defense of the fortress of Güns by the Hungarians checked the new Turkish advance, and Suleiman the Magnificent, balked of his ambitious designs against the Empire, turned his attack against Venice. In October, Francis I, who had joined with Saxony, Hesse, and Bavaria to oppose the recognition of Ferdinand of Hapsburg as heir to the Imperial dignity, allied himself with England by the treaty of Boulogne. Simultaneously the English Parliament, under royal lead, proceeded in that course which, by abolishing annates and appeals to Rome, led to a final breach with the Papacy.

Calvin and Pizarro

There was, then, in this eventful year, quite enough in these affairs of state to absorb all the talents and the time of European rulers. But far removed from their ambitious eyes, two other events of far too slight importance to be regarded by these great ones of the earth made this same period no less memorable. Some time during these months an obscure French clerk, one John Calvin, then resident in or near Paris, after long searchings of the heart, turned from the Roman to the Reformed communion, and thereby "lighted a candle seen throughout the world." And while the cavalcades of the Imperial dignitaries made their way along the highroads that led to Nuremberg to meet their Emperor and, as it chanced, decree religious peace, in the western world a humble captain of that same Emperor, with a handful of followers, breasted the tremendous slopes of the Andes to challenge the power of a state whose fabled wealth had roused Spanish cupidity for a dozen years, and whose conquest formed an adventure scarcely rivaled by the exploit of Cortez.

The conquest of Peru

The project thus rashly undertaken by the Spanish adventurers was not new. Even while Cortez was organizing
Mexico, the interest of the colonial world was shifted to
South America, and that continent became the scene of an
extraordinary advance of European power. At the same
moment that the Argentine was explored, the foundation 1527-8
of Coro marked the first effective occupation of Venezuelan
lands by the Spaniards; and Portugal, disturbed by visits
of the English and the French to the Brazilian coasts, had
begun to take steps to secure her neglected dependency. Still
more important were events in the west. The year following
the capture of Mexico, Andagoya brought back from a voyage 1522-3
along its shores news of the Andean empire. Inspired by
this and by Cortez' exploit, a Darien colonist, Francisco
Pizarro, sometime Balboa's follower and since his leader's
death a cattle-raiser in Panama, with two neighbors, Diego
de Almagro, and a priest, Fernando de Luque, projected new
conquest.

Unlike Cortez, Pizarro found no force ready to his hand,
and his slender resources, with those of his associates, were
strained to the utmost to provide means even to explore the
coasts. Only the leader's indomitable perseverance made it
possible. Twice he attempted in vain to find this so-called
empire of the Incas; and finally assured of its existence, he
embarked for Spain, where, after extraordinary efforts, he 1528-9
secured a commission for its conquest from the Emperor.

As a result of eight years' unremitting effort he now embarked with three ships, less than two hundred men, and thirty horses, for an exploit as hazardous as that which Cortez had hardly accomplished with three times that force. 1530-1 A month's sail brought the rash adventurer from Panama to the port of Tumbez, and there, for the first time, fortune smiled on him. The situation in which he found himself bore a striking resemblance to that which Cortez had faced; nor was the parallel between the Aztecs and the people whom Pizarro found less remarkable. Among the mountain tribes, known as the Quichuas, which occupied the vast Andean region at this time, one, named from its rulers, the Incas, had become supreme. Whether, like the Aztecs, they had learned from the vast and imposing civilization of the Hatun Runas or Piruas, which existed prior to their coming, or whether their culture was self-developed, they were, at the time when they first came into touch with the Spaniards, the most advanced peoples of the western world. They no longer built the Cyclopean edifices of their forerunners. Their capital at Cuzco was less imposing but no less remarkable than its predecessor on Lake Titicaca; and their power, which in the preceding five centuries had slowly brought the Andean region under its control, was no less widespread and doubtless much better organized than that of the prehistoric people whose lands they had inherited.

The Incas

Like the Aztecs, the Incas were far from being mere savages. Their government was well ordered. The roads which bound their far-flung empire together were marvels of engineering skill. Their achievements in agricultural and domestic arts, stone-building, the working of precious metals, and astronomy were equal or superior to those of their northern neighbors. And, like these, however inferior in culture to the invaders, they yielded little to them in material civilization beyond the use of iron, gunpowder, and domestic animals, with such inventions and processes as those of printing and navigation.

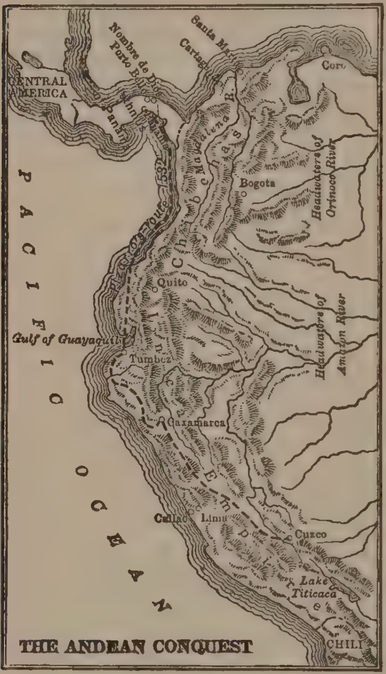
Under normal circumstances, Pizarro's expedition against such a power with such a force as his would have been worse than madness. But at the moment Peruvian affairs were much disturbed. Their great Inca, Huayna Capac, had but lately died; his sons, Huascar and Atahualpa, contended for the throne, which the latter had just secured and made his brother prisoner. The people were in consequence divided; the fortunes of the government unsettled and its power weakened; and the invaders were not slow to take advantage of the situation which they found. Apprised of the divisions, the Spanish leader seized his opportunity, negotiated with the warring native factions, and, hastening inland, invited Atahualpa to meet him. The prince incautiously agreed, 1532 and Pizarro, following Cortez' example, made him prisoner, demanding a huge ransom for his safety.

The result The result surpassed even the Spanish dreams of avarice. But the royal treasures, the spoils of the temples, and the plunder of the people, though their value ran into many millions, were declared insufficient by the insatiable conquerors. Fearing that they would declare for his rival, Atahualpa ordered his brother's execution, and Pizarro, joined by Almagro, with reinforcements, put the unhappy Inca prince to death, hurried to Cuzco, secured the city and 1533 its wealth, and proclaimed another of the Inca family, Manco Capac, as ruler of Peru. This done, the conqueror sent his brother to Spain with the royal fifth of the plunder. As his reward Pizarro was created a marquis and governor of Peru; while his companion, Almagro, who had arrived too late to share the Inca spoil, was given the southern province of Chili, which he set out to conquer. At the same time, Pizarro removed the seat of government from Cuzco to Lima, where he began to construct a new capital. But this 1535 was not the end. The natives rebelled. Almagro claimed a greater share of land than was allowed him for his great services; and civil war broke out among the conquerors. Almagro was killed, but his followers, choosing his son to 1538 lead them, conspired against Pizarro, assassinated him, and 1541-42 were only brought to terms after the arrival of a crown agent and another civil war.

Such were the circumstances of the great adventure which

The organization of Peru

added another empire to the Spanish crown, poured another huge flood of precious metals into Spain, and thence into Europe, and opened new fields for European enterprise. Had Peru's conqueror been, like Cortez, a man of statesmanship as well as military qualities, the history of the Andean state might have followed the lines laid down in Mexico. But Pizarro's exploit revealed the darkest aspects of the Spanish character. Fiercer, more stern, far less enlightened than Cortez, his nature was reflected in Peruvian history, and while he lived, and long thereafter, its development scarcely exceeded the transfer of power from Inca to Spanish hands. Feudal baronies replaced the estates of native nobles or royal domains, the *repartimiento* was introduced, and the peasants, like the land on which they lived, came into possession of the conquerors. Some Spanish leaders, like de la Vega, hastened to wed the native heiresses. Some, like Carbajal, preferred the mines; some the rich fields; some, like de Soto, took their share of the Inca spoil and set forth in quest of new adventures; some followed Gonzalo Pizarro or Valdivia to fresh fields. To the new capital of Lima and, more sparsely, to the interior came soldiers of fortune, merchants, officials, clergy, to enjoy the crumbs of conquest or share the revenues of the principality. This, far more slowly than New Spain, took on like form of colonial life. Apart from its great wealth, it was more nearly kin to that intervening region of Central America, through


THE ANDEAN CONQUEST

whose tangled tropical forests Spanish power was meanwhile finding its slow and difficult way.

The Andean conquest —Ecuador

1533-35

For the conquest of Peru by no means exhausted Spanish achievement in this momentous period. Two years before Lima was founded the crown had authorized the establishment of a port of entry on the lower Caribbean, famous in later history as Cartagena; and a year later Mendoza's men began that La Plata port whose delightful climate moved them to name it Buenos Ayres. Meanwhile Pizarro's exploit had brought results in regions remote from the chief center of disturbance. Far to the north, the upper Andean capital, Quito, found itself masterless on Atahualpa's death, and, facing a rebellion of the subject Canari tribes, summoned Sebastian de Benalcazar's garrison from San Miguel to protect them. To this quarter other adventurers hurried. From his conquests in Central America, Alvarado was tempted to share the spoil, but Almagro forestalled him, and reinforced by Benalcazar, founded the town of Guayaquil, on the finest harbor of the Pacific coast, and a new province, Ecuador, came into being.

Chili

1540-41

1540

From these regions proceeded fresh advance. Like Cortez, Pizarro had at once despatched lieutenants to secure outlying provinces and explore the newly-won empire. His brother, Gonzalo, gathering followers to find a new Peru, crossed the Andes, seeking a fabled ''land of cinnamon,'' and, failing this, after fearful hardships, made his way back from one of the most daring explorations in all history. His second in command, Orellana, deserting him, found his way down a mighty river, which, from a tale he told of a female warrior tribe he found there, we still call the Amazon. Upon Almagro's death an Estremaduran follower of Cortez, Pedro de Valdivia, loaned by the Mexican conqueror to Pizarro, became the first Spanish master of Chili. In such wise, the western border of the southern continent came under Spanish power and linked itself with the great conquests farther north.

Colombia

One region remained, the rich, mysterious lands which lay between Venezuela and Ecuador, the northernmost Andes where the headwaters of the Magdalena, the Orinoco, and the northern branch of the Amazon had their rise. Thither from 1536-7 every side adventurers now pressed to find the fabled El Dorado, "the Golden Man," the golden city of Manoa, and the real treasures of the Chibcha race. From Santa Marta, founded on the headlands east of the Magdalena; from Coro, granted to the great German bankers of Charles V, the house of Welser, and presently included in the governorship of Pizarro's fierce lieutenant, Carbajal; from Cartagena; from the more distant settlement of Cumaña, near the Orinoco's mouth; from Quito and Panama, successive expeditions strove to penetrate into the interior of what was to be later known as Colombia. In this race for wealth German captains of Charles V, like Alfinger and George of Spires, Federmann and Philip von Huten, rivaled Spanish adventurers like Benalcazar and de Quesada. The last, starting from Santa Marta, after fearful hardships, was the first to reach the Chibchas. Less civilized and less rich, as well as less warlike than the Aztecs or Incas, they fell an easy prey, and on the site of one of their villages was founded the 1538 Spanish post of Bogotá. Compelled to divide his plunder with Benalcazar and Federmann, Quesada left the task of subduing the northernmost region of Antioquia to other hands. From that last of the Andean conquests, its conquerors, Robledo and Heredia, it is said, gained more wealth than either Pizarro or Cortez, and its subjugation put into the possession of the Spaniards some of the richest gold mines in the world.

Results of the Andean conquest

Thus was completed the Andean conquest, and the transfer of the chief sources of precious metals then known to the world, from native to European hands. The motives of the conquerors, like their methods, partook of the lowest elements of human nature, greed and cruelty; and it can only be urged in their favor that they spoiled the spoiler, took by force the wealth and power which the tribes they conquered had earlier obtained by the same means. The immediate result of their conquest was disastrous to the ruling classes they displaced; the ultimate results contributed enormously

Lima. The modern city.

to the development of the race. Not merely was a territory comparable in size to Europe opened to the enterprise of her people, and their resources multiplied by this extension of their field of activity. For the first time the old world found a source of precious metals adequate for its economic needs. The influx of this great stream of capital not only reinforced the wealth and luxury of Spain, and the ambitions of her king, the Emperor; it found its way into commerce and industry, and the mines of America, while they fed the ambitions of the Hapsburg house, at the same time made possible Europe's further economic advance.

The explorers

But even this tremendous extension of her resources and her possibilities did not exhaust Spain's contribution to European progress in this momentous decade. While Peru took its place among Spanish dependencies, the exploits of the Andean conquerors raised the adventurous spirit to its height; and men turned with high hopes to the great northern continent, where tales of golden cities and glimpses of Indian pueblos, vouchsafed to earlier explorers, convinced them of the existence there of empires no less wealthy than those of Peru or Mexico. In the decade of the conquest of the Andes, therefore, a series of extraordinary marches laid bare the secrets of the southern part of North America. Though they failed to find the gold they sought, these expeditions revealed as great courage and enterprise as the exploits of Mexican or Aztec conquerors, and were of scarcely less ultimate importance to the spread of European power through the western world.

Narvaez

1528

Of these the first was Pamfilio de Narvaez, Cortez's old antagonist. Before Pizarro began his conquest of Peru, Narvaez had commenced to explore the mainlands westward from Florida, while one of his companions, Cabeza de Vaca, even made his way across the Gulf plains to Mexico. Meanwhile, Cortez's agents discovered Lower California and planted a colony, and during the period of Andean conquest vessels were sent along the western coast as far as Cape Mendocino, a thousand miles to the north. Cortez's successor, Mendoza, pursued the task of extending Spain's power

1540 with no less energy. Hernando de Alarçon, despatched to
the Gulf of California, found a great river, whose turbid
waters inspired him to christen it the Colorado; and Francisco
Coronado de Coronado, appointed governor of New Galicia, made
his way from that province, across desert and mountain, to
1540- where that same stream has hollowed the marvelous phenomenon
known as the Grand Canyon. Thence, turning eastward
to the Rio Grande, he was lured onward by rumors of a
native city, Quivira, rich in gold, in search of which he found
his way across the western plains to a point north of the
Arkansas river, and from there, empty-handed, he returned
1542 to Mexico, after the longest march yet undertaken by the
new world adventurers.

De Soto At the same time, a follower and son-in-law of Pedrarias
d'Avila, Hernando de Soto, who had accompanied Pizarro
1539- to Peru, landed in Florida to seek an Eldorado in the northern
continent. Following Narvaez's track, he found and crossed
the Mississippi, and made his way far to the westward. But,
like Coronado, he found no cities and no gold, and disappointed
in his search, he was compelled to retrace his steps
to the great river he discovered. There he sickened and
1543 died, and his followers, burying him in its waters, made their
painful way to Mexico.

The coast line Spanish advance was not confined to the mainland. At
the same time that the whole south and west of North America
was being traversed and claimed for Spain by these remarkable
1538- marches, Valdivia sailed along the western shores of
South America to the fortieth parallel, Camargo carried the
1540 Spanish flag to Cape Horn, and the coast of California
was explored. With these exploits Spain's claims to territory
in the New World reached their widest bounds. She had
secured not merely the huge plunder of the western peoples
and acquired the sources of a supply of precious metals in
amounts hitherto unknown to European experience, but an
extent of land greater than the whole area of Europe itself.

The "New Laws" It was appropriate, therefore, that at this point in her
colonial career she took occasion to reorganize her power. In
the same year that Almagro began the conquest of Chili

and Pizarro founded Lima, Antonio de Mendoza had been named the first Viceroy of New Spain. Before his coming the general system of native exploitation and control had been extended to the mainland conquests, but its fundamental feature, the *repartimiento* system, was now profoundly changed. It had been granted at first in perpetuity, but the efforts of Las Casas and his school had succeeded in limiting its operation to the life of the grantee. Later extended to two lives, it was now decreed that, on the *encomendero's* death, his grants reverted to the crown. This was the most striking feature of those measures which now inaugurated that great code of Indian legislation known to later generations as the *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias,* usually, if not quite correctly, called by them the New Laws of Charles V. Enlarged and modified from time to time, these now became the supreme law of the colonies, and remained for centuries the greatest of the world's colonial codes, directing the destinies of millions of human beings. 1539-42

The Council of the Indies

Under the new arrangement, though Seville retained the monopoly of colonial trade and the *Casa de la Contratacion* went on, the management of affairs remained in the hands of the Council of the Indies, which became the supreme authority in legislative and judicial affairs of the colonies. Its president and its members, ''men of noble birth, pure lineage, and true faith,'' formed an imposing and a powerful board of control. It gathered information and advised the king in civil and ecclesiastical affairs; held *residencias* or inquests on each viceroy's acts at the expiration of his term, through its commissioners; heard appeals; controlled finance; and, through the subordinate *Casa de la Contratacion,* regulated commerce.

Under its direction the resident administration of the new world was organized. From the first Spain's policy had been to check and balance authority in the colonies, and the whole system of government, therefore, reflected this fundamental principle. The *audiencia,* though it was the viceroy's council and for the most part under his authority, sat as an appellate court on his decisions. From it proceeded, triennially, one of its judges to inspect administration in the provinces, the acts of the district or provincial governors; of the Indian agents; of municipal affairs under the direction of their alcaldes and boards of aldermen or councillors. They took account of the crown fifths of mining profits; native poll or tribute tax; the *alcabala,* or tax on goods sold; receipts from sale of offices; indulgences; monopolies of tobacco, gunpowder, quicksilver, salt; and supervised the administration of justice. From their reports and knowledge of affairs, viceroy and *audiencia* reported to the Council which framed the laws and regulations for the colonial empire.

Its work

Such was the organization spread through Spanish America. Its task was no less novel than difficult. Hampered by the difficulty of legislating at a distance, and without intimate knowledge of the people and the circumstances among which their edicts were to operate, such a body as the Council of the Indies lacked adequate control of the officials who put its measure into force. Its principal defect lay in its efforts to remedy the lack of a close supervision by too minute a regulation of affairs. Yet despite the false political economy which harmed the native and the government alike far more than the oppression and extortion for which the Spaniards have been so bitterly attacked, it carried on its work with conscientiousness, ability, and no small success. Too rigid for a later age, to whose changes it began to adjust itself too late, and by no means always well administered by its agents, the Spanish colonial system in the fifteenth century, measured by the standards of its time, was both strong and enlightened. And, ruling as it did half the known world, it was a factor of wide importance in the affairs of mankind.

Its difficulties

Under more favorable circumstances it might have ensured for centuries the dominance of the state that gave it birth. But the political situation in which the nation found itself, no less than the false notions of political economy, and the demoralizing influences of such sudden and overwhelming success, were powerful agents of disintegration almost from the first. Even the vast treasures secured from the plunder of the new provinces, the taxes and prospective tribute of wide-stretching territory and millions of native vassals, with their forced labor in fields and mines, was neutralized by the tremendous cost of the Emperor's foreign policy. The almost incessant clash of arms during the preceding century, the exodus of adventurers to the New World, added to the long and exhausting wars of Charles V, not merely drained the land of able-bodied men; it made the pursuit of arms, long bred in the Spanish race, almost the only ambition of a whole people. Moreover, in a nation which was at best not mercantile in its instincts, the flood of sudden wealth choked the springs of industry. The slender flow of manufactured goods, even the cultivation of the soil, was checked, and as the nation, inflamed by conquest and discovery, sought the ways to sudden wealth, like Portugal it left the straight path of homely prosperity and the sound basis of its economic life decayed. The full effect of this, indeed, was not felt when, at this crowning point of her achievements oversea she formalized the administration of her new empire; but already, to the world outside, Spain seemed a land where the hidalgo, soldier, friar, and official stood for the sum of national life and spirit. And this in no small measure became the mold of her national character.

The Portuguese in America 1517-42

Such were the beginnings of European occupation in the western hemisphere, which above all other regions has remained thus far its most important seat outside of Europe itself. But the exploitation of America was not confined to Spain. Roused by their rival's energies, the Spanish occupation of the Argentine, the threats of English and of French adventurers, the Portuguese, who for a generation had neglected Brazil for their eastern possessions, turned their attention to that imperial province. In the year Pizarro conquered Peru, the Portuguese noble, Affonso de Sousa, was despatched to America. His first exploit was the discovery of the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, the next was the establishment of settled government. For its model the island colonies were drawn upon. Beginning at the north the land was parceled out into hereditary fiefs, the so-called cap- 1531-2 taincies, each for the most part with a sea-frontage of some fifty leagues and extending indefinitely into the interior, along lines parallel with the equator. These huge grants were conferred on noble *donatorios,* with civil and criminal jurisdiction and complete authority over the land and its inhabitants. This characteristic Portuguese system endured until the crown found itself compelled, as in the island colonies, to appoint royal officials to enforce the rights of the colonists and the home government. Under such conditions, de Sousa, as the first grantee, founded a post at São Vicente on the northern coast. Settlement began with undesirables of every class, convicts, women of the baser sort, bankrupts, Jews; but there followed presently a slender stream of more eligible colonists, and, favored by a salutary neglect, the small and isolated coast settlements, Olinda, Recife or Pernambuco, and Bahia, which soon sprang up, showed signs of real vitality. The natives were reduced to servitude, wherever possible; the fiercer tribes driven into the more remote interior. Slaves from the Guinea coast were introduced; planting begun; and with it and forest products, a little gold and an increasing trade, were laid the foundations of a sound colonial prosperity.

1532

1536-9

In the East 1517-42

Yet whatever the future promised her American possession, the more immediate concern of Portugal was with the East. There the quarter of a century which followed Albuquerque's death had seen the wide extension of her empire. Holding their stronghold of Diu with difficulty, the successors of the empire-builder had done what they could to extend their power in the farther East, by treaties with the rulers of Colombo and the Maldives. They held Malacca against their enemies only with the aid of their allies in Pacem and Achin, while their connection with China remained precarious and subject to many interruptions.

1536

Had they possessed Albuquerque's character and abilities they might have made Portugal's position all but impregnable. But their incessant raids, their greed and bad faith, made enemies on every hand. And while native attempts at insurrection were cruelly suppressed; while the richest of the

Molucca spice-trading centers, Tidore, became a tributary state, and the Spanish treaty secured the Portuguese position in that archipelago, dishonesty and rapine went on all but unchecked, and Portugal's position grew gradually less secure. 1529

Portugal's enemies

Meanwhile the field of conflict widened. The Portuguese attack upon Diu enlisted the king of Cambay among their enemies; and from Egypt the Turkish governor of Cairo despatched forces against them. In turn the younger da Gama raided the Turkish power in the Red Sea and carried his victorious arms from Socotra to Suez, effecting a diversion which materially aided the Imperial and Italian conflict with the Ottoman power, then at its height. The king of Abyssinia was induced to aid in the attack upon Egypt; and finally John III despatched an embassy to Suleiman the Magnificent, which, though it failed, revealed the altering tendencies of world politics as clearly as the earlier efforts of Francis I to enlist Turkish support against the Emperor. But with all of Portugal's warlike enterprise and the extension of her boundaries, efforts for peace became as futile as efforts for reform, and perpetual strife and corrupt administration became the normal condition of Portuguese occupation of the East.

Her disabilities

This was not the worst. While her captains reached the farthest East, her power nearer home had sunk until, especially in northern Africa, the tide of Moslem rule had overspread much Portugal had owned and lapped the base of her remaining fortresses. The valor of her fighting men as yet showed small decline, her great monopoly was scarcely impaired, but greed, corruption, and jealousy were more dangerous enemies than any human foe. Few viceroys escaped arrest. Most deserved their fate, and even the best of them found it impossible to repress the infinite perversion of public office to private gain among their subordinates. The lack of real colonists weakened her hold upon the East no less. After a quarter of a century of occupation Goa held less than five hundred Europeans, and these were chiefly in government employ. With all the brilliance of her captains' exploits, army and navy continually lacked recruits; and the soldiers, their discipline relaxed, their comfort ignored, their pay withheld, fell, like their officers, into contempt. Even pilotage and the once dreaded artillery declined. Only the incredible profits of her trade maintained apparent prosperity amid boundless waste, while the one sure foundation of permanent welfare, public virtue, showed signs of insufficiency before the strain of a too great success. Such was the position of Portugal when in the same year 1542 that Spanish colonial administration was reorganized, the Portuguese extended their operations to the distant, long dreamed-of island kingdom of Cipango or Japan. With that event at the same moment the two rival empires reached their widest bounds.

Progress of other European peoples —England

Beside their advance, the progress of other European powers in the world outside was all but insignificant. Nor was this to be wondered at. German adventurers had taken some small part in the exploiting of South America, but their sovereign's demand for men at home to fight the French, the Moors, the Turks, and throughout Italy, left few to be spent in more distant lands. The ostentatious monarch of what was to be the leading maritime nation of the world was besought in vain to aid in finding a northern passage to "the regions of all the Tartarians, the Chinas, and Cathaio Orientall," by way of "the back side of the new-found land." For Henry VIII was unwilling to divert even the "godly meane, the little cost, perill or labour" for such an enterprise from the vain ambitions of an Imperial crown, the church affairs, and the domestic entanglements which filled his life.

France

Even amid his campaigns against Charles V the French king found more opportunity than England for such enterprise; and at the moment Pizarro conquered Peru, he sent 1534-1536 Jacques Cartier of Saint-Malo to the St. Lawrence, to find his way up that great river to the rapids called, satirically perhaps, Lachine. The explorer found no passage to China by that route. But five years later he went out again, founded 1540 a short-lived settlement at Charlesburg, while his associate, the Lord of Roberval, the "governor of New France, Canada, and Hochelaga," as these lands were called, built a stockade above the Isle of Orleans. Yet like the private trading voyages of the English to Newfoundland, Brazil, and Central America, these French exploits produced no permanent results. Without the crown support, on which Spanish and Portuguese success was founded, it was scarcely conceivable that such undertakings at such time could prosper; and these scattered efforts, save that they kept alive an interest in the new world among the peoples whose main strength was then absorbed in religious and political rivalries at home, left Spain and Portugal supreme in the colonial field.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL EUROPE. 1521-1543

THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN SCIENCE AND CAPITALISM

Scientific advance

IN any consideration of the forces which combined during the long reign of Charles V to produce the beginnings of a modern world, it is impossible to ignore the development of that department of intellectual activity to which we give the general name of science. For that development is important not alone in its mere contribution to knowledge and power, in its increase of man's comfort and his capacity to achieve material tasks, to cure or ameliorate his sufferings, to bring the forces of nature to his aid to conquer nature or his fellow-man, to enable him to comprehend something of the mystery of the created universe. Like scholarship, and still more like art, it has a deeper significance, than even the discovery of new method and new facts. This lies in the emancipation of the mind from the trammels of dogma, the increased capacity to conceive great ideas, to discover and to learn. For from such a force proceeds not only material achievement but the possibility of real progress in mental and spiritual fields.

Science and the Reformers

Such a result must be reckoned no less important to the history of Europeans than the changes in religious belief and ecclesiastical practice by which it was accompanied, and of far greater significance than the larger part of the political activities by which it was, for the most part, hindered. With all their influence in breaking the power of the older tradition of dogmatic authority, and their insistence upon the rights of the individual, the new communions soon proved themselves scarcely more tolerant than the old, when measured by modern standards. Asserting their own claims to liberty of opinion, they were quick to refuse that privilege to those who disagreed with them. It was still possible for Luther to deny the supremacy of Roman dogma and to denounce the doctrines of his Protestant rivals with equal vigor. It was still possible for Calvin to demonstrate his right to renounce the old faith and practices, and have Servetus 1553 burned for refusing to assent to a particular arrangement of the words "the infinite son of the father" as against "the son of the infinite father."

Nor was the new theology more willing to accept the freedom of speculation necessary to the advance of all knowledge, and of science in particular. The tradition of the older conceptions was still strong. To Lutheran and Calvinist, as to Roman Catholic, the earth was still the center of the universe, and man the chief if not the only concern of God. Though in the last year of this remarkable period the Copernican hypothesis of a solar system was taking form, not for another three-quarters of a century was it to be accepted by even the most advanced leaders of European thought. None the less, the Reformation marks a tremendous alteration in the history of the world. From it flowed not merely new communions but the beginning of an emancipation from a single school of dogma, that denial of the claim to a monopoly of revealed truth, which opened the way to greater freedom of speculation, and, in due course of time, to liberty of thought and speech. And, whether one regards this as a blessing or a curse, it none the less remains the great outstanding characteristic of the modern world.

The Reformation and the scientific renaissance

Finally, in that it summed up in itself something of each of the forces then at work remolding Europe, religious, social, political, and intellectual, the Reformation was not merely the type but the epitome of the times in which it fell. It not merely influenced politics, it was, in no small degree itself political. It not merely offered an outlet to the dissatisfaction with the social system of the time, it partook of that social discontent and brought that growing spirit another step on its way; and it was at once the product of the intellectual movement which had preceded it and the inspiration of much that followed. Yet in this it revealed a striking difference from the scientific renaissance. For though its leaders advanced toward the determination of truth from a direction wholly opposite to that from which the scientists proceeded, they aimed at the same goal. The one side based itself upon revelation, the other on investigation. And if there is one circumstance which distinguishes the period in which the Protestant communions took their rise, apart from that revolution in the ecclesiastical world, it is that there began at this time the first great serious effort which was destined to success, to discover the secrets of the structure of the universe and man.

The importance of science to progress

The adventures of the mind, even less than the triumphs of the artists, perhaps even less than the contentions of the theologians, make little appeal to us in comparison with the deeds of men of action. In any chronicle of the history of mankind they have been given small consideration beside the annals of war and diplomacy. Yet whatever we may think of the relative importance of European progress during modern times in the fields of politics, or even in those of morals, philosophy, art, and letters, as compared with the achievement of the ancients, one thing is certain. We know more, we have more, and we can do more than our ancestors, and that this is an absolute advance in civilization it is difficult to deny. Men may not be better, happier, stronger, or more profound than they were in the age of Pericles, but they are, unquestionably, more comfortable, more powerful, and more capable, and in so far more civilized.

This result is due, in general, not to the efforts of those men chiefly concerned in establishing their ascendancy over their fellows but to those whose principal aim has been the conquest of the secrets and the resources of nature—in short to the advance of scientific knowledge. However the progress in scholarship, in letters, art, or theology may have contributed to the emancipation of the intellect which made scientific labors possible, it is to science, rather than to these other phenomena of the mind, that the development of what we call the modern world is due, and that of all fields, it is in science we excel the ancient world.

Europe had made great progress in the art of government in the generations just passed. She had revolutionized letters and art, with the whole theory and practice of ecclesiastical affairs. She had discovered the sea-ways east and west, and made far-reaching conquests. Yet the last quarter of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth were no less notable for the foundation of those branches of knowledge from which has developed a great part of our modern strength, than for the alterations in these other fields of human activity. In particular, it is to this period that we owe the beginnings of knowledge and practice in two fields of the profoundest importance not merely to our every-day life but to our thought and, in no small degree, to our beliefs. These were the fields of medicine, and of mathematics and astronomy.

The beginnings of modern science

In considerable measure these advances were due, like most of the progress of the period in all intellectual affairs, to the rise of the new learning which was brought in by the Renaissance during the preceding century.

Among the treasures of antiquity which found their way to more general knowledge during those years, the productions of the men of letters had not been unique. It is true that the middle ages had known many of the achievements of the classical world. It is true that especially after the so-called thirteenth century renaissance great additions were made to that knowledge. From their long obscurity had been drawn such scientific attainments as the Greeks in particular had acquired, and this had been reinforced by the contributions of the Arabs, from whose writings, as they came into Europe, had been extracted not only their own learning but that which they had acquired from classical and Indian sources. But there is a vast difference between knowledge and accessibility; between the labors of a handful of widely separated scholars and the vivid, and often highly practical interest of increasing numbers, kept in touch with each other and with the general progress of their work by such rapid and generous reproductions as are made by the printing-press. And it is this characteristic which sharply divides the modern from the mediæval period. From the middle of the fifteenth century this impulse was more and more in evidence; and it may fairly be said that, whatever the acquirements of isolated individuals before that time, classical knowledge was not in the possession of Europe in general until it was available in print and became a part of the commonly accessible stock of European information.

Mathematics

This was especially true of mathematics, where the Greeks had achieved their greatest scientific success, and where the needs of the new navigation had been most insistent in their demands. The early middle ages had characteristically preserved the propositions of Euclid, but not his proofs. This error was corrected during the twelfth century. But to minds inflamed with that tremendous burst of intellectual curiosity which accompanied and followed the revelation of unknown lands and the uncovering of the past even this was far from enough. And if this period and the progress of printing were notable for nothing else, they would be memorable for the reintroduction into general European knowledge of the labors of that Greek whose work remains, after twenty centuries, the basis for the science of geometry.

To the revival of Euclid as a scientific auxiliary and a means of education were added other contributions. While geometry, apart from its prostitution to the uses of necromancy, had been largely confined to the practical purposes of surveyor and architect, and the calculations of arithmetic had found their chief expression in the abacus, there was small opportunity for mathematics to become a great factor in the extension of the intellectual faculties. In the preceding century the labors of Purbach and of his pupil Regiomantanus had done much to arouse fresh interest in the knowledge and understanding of geography, mathematics, and astronomy. To these were added in the first half of the sixteenth century the achievements of the Italian Fontana, better known by his nickname of Tartaglia, ''the stammerer.''

Tartaglia 1506-59

This original genius added to his contributions to ballistics the discovery of the so-called cubic equation, a method of finding the least common denominator, and a variety of similar practical solutions of mathematical processes. Algebra, whose name like its methods came into Europe from the Arabs through the medium of the thirteenth-century mathematician, Leonardo of Pisa, and was greatly stimulated by the work of Lucas de Burgo at the end of the fifteenth century, had been reinforced by the latter's text-book which **1494** appeared in the days of Columbus' second voyage and Charles VIII's invasion of Italy. Its development had gone on side by side with art and letters, but it was not until Tartaglia's day that his genius set it on the paths which it has since followed. The same course had been followed by arithmetic. From the labors of the Arab Mohammed ben Musa al-Khwarismi, building on the rude decimal system derived from India, had been developed the decimal system which became the foundation of European arithmetical processes; and that system had, by Tartaglia's day, established itself in the place of the awkward Roman numerals and the abacus. Now, in the years which saw the revolt from Rome, these were reinforced by the labors of another and far greater intellect.

Copernicus 1473-1543

This was the Pole, Johann Kopernik, better known from the Latinized form of his name, as Copernicus. From his studies in Bologna and his lectureship in Rome, this modest scholar brought to his studies in Frauenburg ideas which, finally embodied in his book, *De Revolutionibus Orbium,* prepared the overthrow of astronomy and even theology as then conceived. For, from the many hypotheses regarding the universe held by the ancients, he evolved his theory of the solar system, in which the planets, including the earth, revolved about the sun. To this conception he added his theory of the revolution of the earth on its axis, and that of the stars, like the earth, in their orbits,—doctrines which were to astronomy what Columbus' discovery was to geography. For these, with explanations of the precession of the equinoxes, and the variations of the seasons, though unaccompanied by proof, and not for a century accepted by even scientists generally, laid the foundations for a knowledge and a belief which, in the field of faith no less than in that of intellect, separated the modern from the mediæval world by an impassable gulf. His work, carried on while Europe was convulsed with the revolt from Rome, the progress of the Renaissance, the Spanish conquest of America, and the development of the national absolutisms, did not appear finally in print until 1543. By that time the church had bestirred itself to summon the great council which marks the break between the new and old ecclesiastical system of the continent, the Spanish empire had been organized, and the world was fairly set on its new course. In that course, though its time was long in coming, the labors of this obscure Polish scientist were to play a part not incomparable to that of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the great discoveries.

Medicine

The scientific advance in these years was not confined to mathematics and astronomy, for Europe had begun meanwhile another movement of no less interest and of even greater practical importance to the race than the determination of the laws of the universe. This was in medicine. In the twelvemonth which saw the defeat of Francis I at Pavia and that of the rebellious peasants on the Rhine, there appeared, almost simultaneously, at Venice, the Greek text of the works of Galen and Hippocrates, the latter from the press of Aldus. A dozen years later other and better editions appeared at Basel. With these the writings of the two great medical authorities of the classical world took their place again in scientific literature. They were soon translated, in whole or in part, into Latin and even into modern languages and so found a still wider audience. Though they had been known to the middle ages, they now became easily accessible, and took their place in the current of general scientific advance.

The result was immediate and profound. However far they fell short of modern conceptions and practices in healing, however wrong their theories and however deficient their knowledge, the writings of the great Greek physicians offered at least a comprehensible system of medicine upon which, as a foundation, it was possible to build a new edifice. The work of Galen, in particular, had been known to the later middle ages through the Arabic of Avicenna, but now accessible in the original and in translation, it took on new influence. The long development of medicine which, during the preceding century in particular, had begun to show some signs of escaping from the trammels of ignorance and superstition which had prevented its progress was immensely stimulated; while its scientific character was powerfully reinforced by the decline of that almost mystical reverence for the human body which the church inculcated and thus long prevented any adequate study of its organs. Renaissance and Reformation spirit alike revolted against this prohibition, to the enormous advantage of the race.

"The medical humanists"

Almost at once there arose a new school of medical thought and practice, partly based on the Greek teachings, partly owing its achievements to its antagonism to the "fathers of medicine." In the hands of these "medical humanists" the whole basis of medical and surgical knowledge was altered as men began to seek the sources of their information not in books but in the body itself. Its first development was naturally in anatomy. Dissection, which still suffered from the ecclesiastical prejudice, and which was long permissible only under church sanction, came into increasing vogue, as its limitations were removed or ignored; and with it modern medicine may be said to begin. This movement was not confined to any nation. In Italy Frascatoro, the physician of the Council of Trent and professor at Padua, began that study of contagion which laid the foundations for a great part of modern medical science, while the Papal physician, Eustachio, whose name the Eustachian tube perpetuates, shared with the Imperial physician, Vesalius, the honor of establishing the sciences of anatomy and histology. These, in turn, found a rival in the Pisan professor, Falloppio, who gave his name to the Fallopian tube, which rewarded his researches in anatomy.

This activity was not limited to Italy. The Englishman, Linacre, physician to Henry VII and Henry VIII, drew far more from his studies at Florence than the classical learning which made him—with Grocyn, Colet, Lily, and Latimer—

English and French medicine

one of the founders of the English or Oxford humanistic school, and introduced Britain to the Italian classical Renaissance. His translations from Galen and Hippocrates, like those of the Italian Leoniceno, did more than bring Greek medical acquirements to the knowledge of his day. They inspired him to found lectureships in medicine and the London College of Physicians, as one of the first steps in the extension of medical education beyond the bounds of Italy. In France the talents of Brissot brought some amelioration to the favorite practice of blood-letting by giving it some relation to the parts which it was intended to benefit; while Sylvius, despite his slavish adherence to Galen, described many of the blood-vessels and muscles and gave them the names they still bear. Still more the genius of the great surgeon, Paré, found ample scope for its expression in the incessant wars with which his country was cursed. For among the few blessings which they brought, his contributions to the art of amputation, and his advocacy of such varying practices as massage and asepsis are probably the greatest.

The Netherlands, Switzerland and Germany

In the hands of many of these exponents of the reviving art the learning of the ancients was continued along traditional lines, modified in practice by the introduction of dissection. This soon established the dissecting-room and even a rude clinic alongside the hospital as a feature of the new science. But in some quarters, especially in Switzerland and the Netherlands, the problem was approached from a different direction. The Spanish physician, Servetus, began those researches in the circulation of the blood between the heart and lungs which were to find fruition a century later; but, seeking refuge from the bigotry of his own country, he met death in Switzerland at the hands of the no less bigoted followers of Calvin for his theological opinions. Greater still the traveler-chemist-doctor, appropriately christened Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Paracelsus Bombastus von Hohenheim, but better known by the abbreviated form, Paracelsus, sometime professor at Basel, sometime physician to the merchant-prince, Fugger, in whose mines and laboratories he gained no small part of his knowledge, founded

Paracelsus 1490-1541

a new school of medical theory and practice. Rejecting all tradition, burning Galen and Avicenna, deriding Hippocrates, this curious pioneer, half genius, half charlatan, sought knowledge in reason and investigation as against authority. He preached asepsis and the value of mineral baths, made and used opium and many mineral salts, discovered hydrogen and animal magnetism, and compelled physicians to accept chemical therapeutics. In medicine, in chemistry, in pharmacy he was equally a pioneer.

Iatro-chemistry

Paracelsus well typifies the change coming over the treatment of disease in more ways than one, for he brought to medicine the aid of chemistry, then just beginning to dissociate itself from alchemy. Still more, under such influences, there began that school of thought known as "iatro-chemistry," which referred all physiological change to chemical processes, and thus, while it facilitated progress in certain directions, hindered it in others. To this was added the beginnings of another science, botany, which, especially in the hands of the so-called Fathers of Botany in Germany, began that description of plants which at once laid the foundations of a new department of knowledge and added to the curative or therapeutic resources of medicine.

Vesalius 1514-64

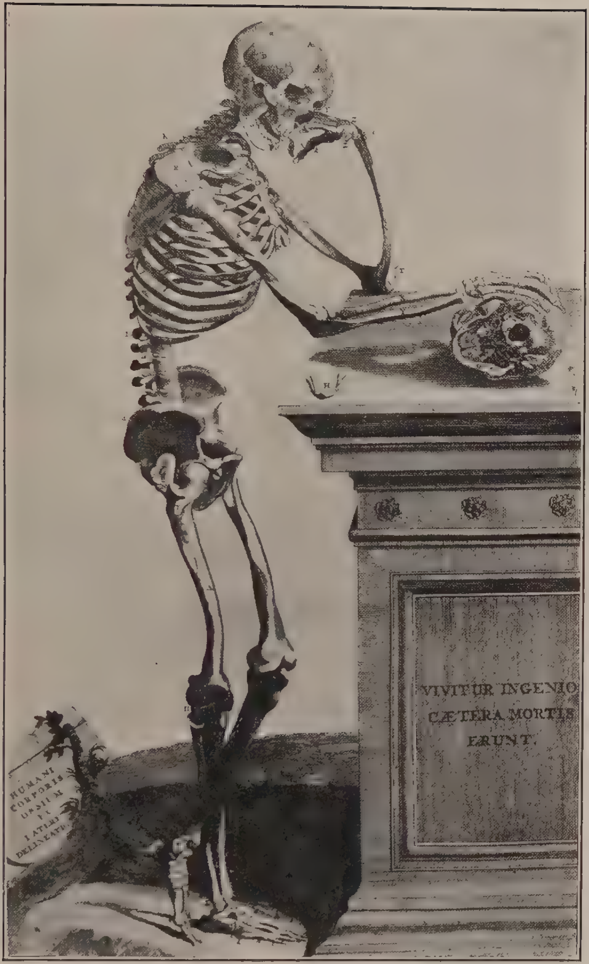
None the less, the great contribution of the age remained descriptive anatomy, and in that field one figure appears the supreme example of the new spirit. This was the Flemish-born, Italian-trained Vesalius, the teacher of Falloppio, the inspirer of Paré, physician to Charles V and Philip II. Basing his work upon dissection and description rather than on tradition, he gave an impetus to anatomy which the science has never lost, and by his genius and enthusiasm he not only advanced knowledge, he founded a method and a school of instruction which gives him rank in the medical world with Copernicus in that of mathematics and astronomy. Nor is it a coincidence without significance that his great work, *De Corporis Humani Fabrica,* which gave a death-blow to the old pedantic school and "dragged the Galen-idol down," appeared in the same year that Copernicus' labors found their final form in print. **1543**

Unconnected with the advances of medicine and mathematics, yet of scarcely less importance, was the development of interest in metals stimulated by the discoveries in Europe itself and especially in America. The development of mining on the continent had roused men to new interest in the resources of the earth. It is not surprising, therefore, that this period saw the appearance of the first—and for three centuries the most substantial—contribution to the science of mineralogy. This work, *De Re Metallica,* was produced by

1546 a German, Georg Landmann, generally called by his assumed name, Agricola, "the father of mineralogy." It was reinforced from the medical side by the labors of Paracelsus; and from the direction of practical operation by the development of the amalgamation or quicksilver process of separating gold from ore. This was enormously stimulated by the discovery and working of the deposits of cinnabar, from which mercury was extracted, at Almaden in Spain and Idria in Austria. Thus the domains and the subjects of Charles V, apart from the conquests which distinguished his reign, became peculiarly notable for their contribution to the economic as to the intellectual progress of the European world.

Hans Holbein, the younger 1497-1543

Finally this extraordinary burst of activity reacted directly upon other fields and individuals not usually associated with the more practical side of life. To his contributions in engineering and painting, Leonardo da Vinci added the first rational explanation of the fossils which the new mining discovered in its operations. To his triumphs with the brush and chisel Michelangelo, appointed chief architect of St. Peter's, added a skill in building operations which finally brought that great edifice into being. And to his extraordinary gifts as the delineator of sixteenth-century faces, which made the younger Holbein the greatest of portrait-producers of his time, this great genius added a skill in designing and engraving which set the art of book-making another stage on its progress. If any one desires to know what manner of men and women made this period he needs only to study the work of this talented, itinerant sketcher of faces, whose detached, impersonal method of drawing things



THE SKELETON, FROM VESALIUS'S *Fabrica.*

(From Locy's *Biology and Its Makers.*) Illustrating the revolution effected by the combined advance of art and anatomy—together with the peculiar humor of 16th century drawing of this sort.

as they were, is, in some sort, a symbol of his times. For his sketch books reveal that tendency to find in the creatures of this world an interest which many of his predecessors had been able to find only in the next. Sacred art was by no means wanting. But its ascendancy, like that of the painting of classical subjects which was the product of the Renaissance, now began to share honors with the delineation of the scenes and the characters which made the world what it was to the inquiring eyes of the mid-sixteenth century.

The transition to modern thought

These phenomena, concurrent with the summons to the Council of Trent, the advent of the Portuguese in Japan, the reorganization of the Spanish colonial empire, and the final triumph of absolute kingships in the national states, mark fittingly the great turning-point in the fortunes of the new world which the men of action and of thought had summoned from the ruins of the old. Thenceforth, in intellect as in faith, in words and deeds, Europe turned more and more definitely to those activities and those concepts to which we give the name of modern. Thenceforth the shackles of tradition were loosened increasingly from year to year, and the men of thought, like the men of action, found opening before them wider fields for the exercise of their abilities and their energies. For if they had not begun to explain, they had,—to use Bacon's witty analogy,—followed the example of Adam and Eve in Paradise, they had "observed the creatures and named them,—the first steps in the summary parts of knowledge."

Specialization

Their development implied far more than these. Two other characteristics differentiate this movement from what had gone before. The one was the spread of these great interests to all sections of society, and the rise of a body of intellectual men which thenceforth began to play an increasingly greater part in human affairs. The great figures were still great, but they were no longer divided from the mass of mankind by any such gulf as had existed earlier. They were, in fact, but the more conspicuous individuals evolved from a growing class of intellectuals, types rather than personalities.

Beside them worked increasing numbers of all but anonymous individuals, whose collective contribution to knowledge not merely equaled the product of the greater geniuses, but went far toward making their achievements possible.

The second characteristic of a changing world grew from this situation of the intellectual class. It was the development of more and more highly specialized activities. It was no longer possible, as it had been two centuries earlier, for one man to become, like Roger Bacon, virtually an encyclopedia of human, or at least scientific, knowledge. The process of differentiation had begun. Occasional geniuses, like Leonardo da Vinci, as in all ages of the world, did many things well, and several things greatly. Some men, like More, were no less eminent in letters and scholarship than in public affairs; some, like Servetus, were conspicuous in medicine and theology; some, like Rabelais, combined medical knowledge with eminent literary gifts. But, for the most part, the content of knowledge was now becoming too great, the demands of the various activities now opening before men were growing too arduous to allow of such universality as had once been possible.

"The open way for the talents"

From these two circumstances grew a third, which was of no less moment. The chief defect of mediæval society had been the relative restriction of careers outside the church open to men of talent, of non-noble birth. This, which was the natural result of the social and ecclesiastical system of the middle ages, had begun to break down with the intellectual and political expansion of the fifteenth century. With the acceleration of those movements in the first half of the sixteenth century, it tended to disappear even more rapidly. It was to be long before the aristocratic tradition was weakened in the field of public affairs, or ecclesiastical influence, whether Catholic or Protestant, ceased its attempts to control the progress of the human mind in those fields which trenched on the domain of dogma. But as from year to year new paths were opened to men's energies in every direction, more and more an open way to the talents presented itself to every class, save the lowest. As it became possible for a Cortez to rise to the dignity of a marquisate even in Spain, it was no less possible for a Luther or an Erasmus or a Calvin to become a ruler of men's thoughts. And, with the advance of science, arts, and crafts, thousands of men found ready to their hands an infinity of tasks and a world of opportunity wholly apart from religion or politics, even apart from that commercial activity which, at the same time, rose to undreamed-of heights of influence, amid the rivalries of statesmen and warriors.

Thus, as the mid-sixteenth century approached, with the beginning of those great readjustments, political and ecclesiastical, which arose from the events of the preceding fifty years, it found a society prepared to take an active share in many concerns unknown to men of preceding generations or barred to a great part of their number. And though it was still true that only a minority shared this privilege, it was now possible for men to achieve distinction in so many fields that the progress of the middle classes, at least in northern Europe, was but a matter of time in every direction which led to the determination of their destinies. And this, as events were soon to prove, became the next great element in the evolutions of affairs.

II

Among the events which will always make the age of Charles V memorable in history, the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation are by far the most conspicuous, and in many respects by far the most important. Beside them even the transition from feudal to national forms of government has seemed to most historians comparatively insignificant, and the development of Europe beyond the sea, with the economic revolution which took place at the same time, scarcely worth more than passing mention. Yet, in the long resolution of events, it is by no means certain that the theological controversies with which so much of the history of the time is chiefly concerned may not come to be regarded as of scarcely more than antiquarian interest, and even the long coil of war and diplomacy which centered in the Italian peninsula give way in importance to other factors in the life of this great transition period.

Social and economic change

Of these, one, in particular, is peculiarly deserving of attention. This is the phase of human existence to which men have agreed to give the name of social and economic,—the routine of every-day life, and those activities which, though they lack the dramatic character of war and intrigue, dynastic ambition and personal adventure, have not only contributed to the existence of mankind, but have formed the foundation of progressive civilization to a greater degree than most of the acts of rulers and statesmen.

In such a field the mid-sixteenth century revealed a Europe so altered from its condition even half a century earlier as to give it the aspect of almost a new world. Not merely in the spiritual and intellectual advance which it had achieved in the preceding hundred years, but in the concerns of daily life which affected every class of society, the continent had experienced a revolution in its status. This had profoundly influenced individual fortunes and in no small degree inspired or modified those movements which, like the Reformation itself, have been looked upon as concerns of the spirit.

The arts and crafts

First among the changes produced by the shifting balance of thought and practices had been, naturally enough, the improvement in the arts and crafts. It is not the infinite toil of infinite millions which contributes most to the material progress of society, save in that it aids in the accumulation of capital, nor is it even the genius of great leaders of thought which gives the steady impulse to the advance of a progressive material civilization. Somewhere between them lies a group of men gifted with technical skill, whose constant improvement of methods and machines gradually builds up a body of knowledge and a manual dexterity which provides continually improving materials for the uses of mankind. To these are added other forces, the demands of arts and crafts upon each other, the changing fashions of society, the pressure for greater comfort and luxury, and the consequent insistence of the traders for goods to satisfy these various demands.

As Europe developed in material civilization and in culture during the centuries following the Crusades, these elements came more and more into evidence. Though the middle ages had beeen unable to produce those masterpieces of Roman masonry which defied the changes of time, though its artisans had forgotten the secret of that tool manufacture which made the Roman pre-eminent in every field of workmanship from dentistry to woodworking, the simpler crafts had gone on through the centuries, improving as they went. And with the greatly increased demands arising from greater knowledge, especially during the fifteenth century, the artisans, no less than the artists, had been stimulated to new models and new methods.

Artisans

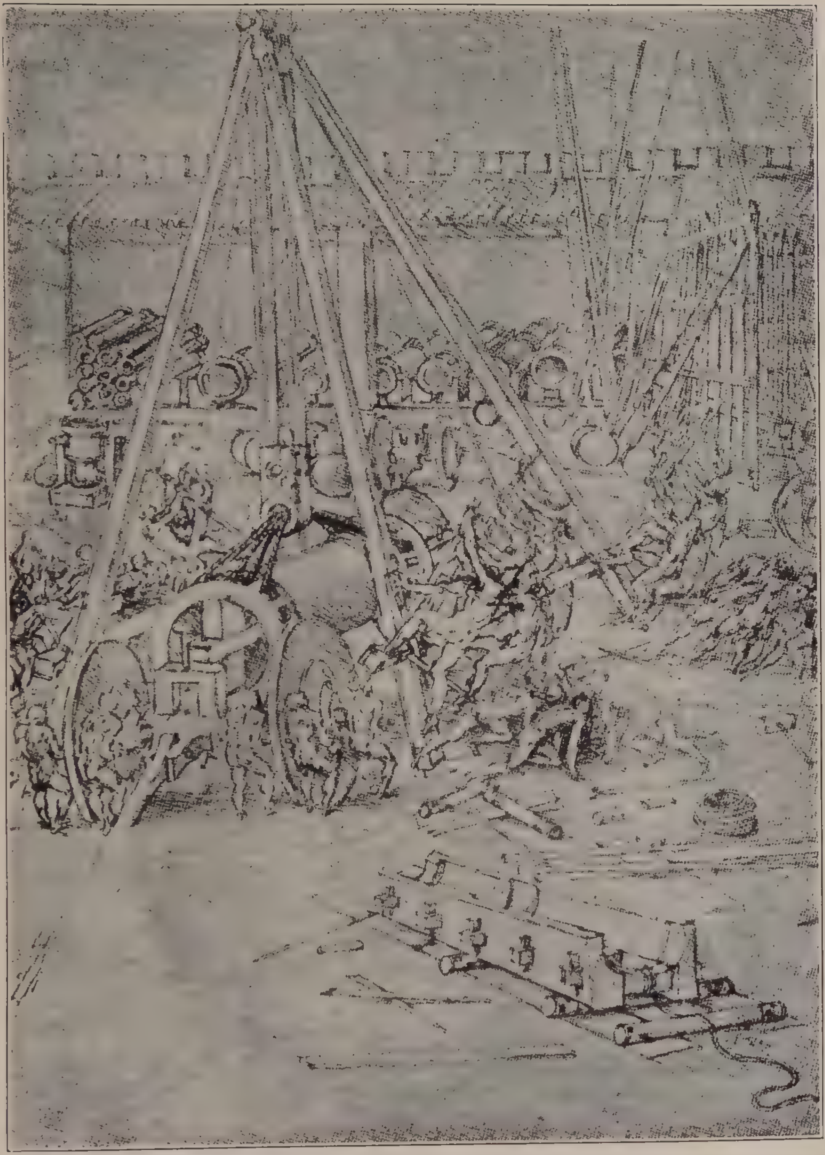
Successive generations of builders had carried on the traditions of their trade and developed them with their successive triumphs in those churches, public buildings, and palaces which make northern Italy still the Mecca of architects, as in those guild-halls, castles, and mansions which housed the nobles and merchant-princes of the north. The art of the goldsmith did not exhaust the creative genius of the metal-workers, for every new craft, as it came into being, made its demands upon that most universal of handicrafts for its tools. With every advance in navigation the demand for shipwrights grew, and their ability augmented. With changing fashion and greater luxury in dress the weavers increased in numbers and in skill. The development of pottery, which was conspicuous in the first half of the sixteenth century; the beginning of watch-making, which dates from the same period; the manufacture of lace, which then began, revealed at once new features in European industry, and the improvement of a society which demanded such products. It is one of the most significant signs of an altering age that the invention of the spinning-wheel is attributed to the same years which saw Protestantism take on its form and name; and that the invention of the wheelbarrow is credited to the painter of the great fresco of the Last Supper, the artist-engineer, da Vinci.

Tools

With such advance the age of the tool-makers began. In the main the hand tools with which all crafts are familiar, the hammer, the saw, the chisel, and the smoothing instruments, were by this time in common use in something of their present forms. Certain rude efforts to use more powerful forces than the human arm had been begun, by wind and especially water-wheels, particularly by the men engaged in grinding grain, and these were slowly taken up by other trades. Crude tilt hammers were devised to work into shape those anchors and artillery appliances beyond the strength of man's unaided strength to shape. The lathe was improved and enlarged to bore out cannon, among other uses; and the improvements associated with the name of the Frenchman, Besson, who issued a manual of lathe building and lathe work in 1569, revealed new processes and new principles. Among these the chief was a device for turning ovals and forms partaking of the principle of the screw—moldings whose axis was at an oblique angle to the main axis of the work—useful not only to the adornment of furniture but to a wide variety of other purposes.

Decline of mediæval crafts

It was inevitable that the progress of the arts and crafts should displace as well as introduce. The Gothic builders tended to disappear with the rise of Renaissance and neo-classic forms. The armorers' skill was lost or transferred to other fields with the extension of the use of gunpowder. The copyists, upon whose handiwork Europe had relied for centuries for the perpetuation of its knowledge found their occupation gone with the development of printing. Yet with all such displacement of the older arts, Europe progressed enormously in her industry during the sixteenth century. A score of professions, a hundred trades sprang up to take the place of those whose usefulness was gone. Canvas-making, whether for the use of the painters or for that of the sail-makers, type-founding and paper-making, press-building and book-binding arose as the manufacture of parchment and the art of the copyist declined. Engraving, with its materials



The Courtyard of a Cannon-foundry.

After the drawing by Leonardo da Vinci. The device for lifting the cannon is especially noteworthy.

and tools, map-making, and the construction of instruments for astronomical observation and time measurement, the manufacture of firearms and gunpowder, with an infinity of lesser activities, more than supplied the place of the outworn crafts.

The "working-classes"

Virtually all of this vast, complex, and for the most part anonymous contribution to the welfare and progress of European peoples was due to those classes with no voice in the affairs of state, and, in consequence, no place in history. Yet it was to them, in the last resolution, that the advance of Europe, even in politics, was chiefly due. Not only would the discoveries have been impossible, whatever the daring of navigators, without the artisans who made their voyages possible, the triumphs of the conquerors who followed the explorers would have been inconceivable without the arms and armor with which the craftsmen provided them. And, in no small degree, even the progress of national kingship was stimulated by this same element.

For it was not alone through patronage of the artists and architects by the upper classes that there came to be some recognition of the dignity and importance of industry by rulers and statesmen. Many generations were to elapse before there was any appreciable decline in the old feeling of distinction between aristocracy and commonalty, based on the feudal difference between the noble service of arms and the ignoble service of work. But with the rise to high position in affairs of the mind and spirit of so many men then reckoned of base birth, with the extraordinary progress of the arts and industries, that open way for the talents which the church almost alone had offered men in the middle ages, began to have new avenues of approach. It was apparent that even public affairs, however jealously guarded as the preserve of noble birth, could not be closed forever to classes capable of such distinction in other fields.

The merchants

Among these one had already forced its way to the front in Italy, and now began to play a like part in other lands—the merchant, to whom the marvelous developments of the preceding hundred years had showed new paths to wealth and power. For, amid the dramatic events in politics and religion, the concurrent alterations in trade and finance had slowly and almost imperceptibly begun to shift the balance of the continent in social and political no less than economic fields.

Shifting of economic balance

This was particularly evident in the northern states, especially in Germany and the Netherlands. In the century which had just elapsed, the trade currents had shifted until the older commercial capitals no longer played the major part in the affairs which they had once controlled. This circumstance was not wholly due to Portuguese discoveries
1517-
or Spanish conquest. The progress of Turkish power through Asia Minor and the Balkan peninsula, and, still more, its successes against the long line of Venetian and Genoese island
1542
and mainland posts through the Levant, had crippled the great commerce which had flowed through Italy. And when, at the moment that Charles V ascended the Spanish throne and Luther began his labors in Germany, the Turks overran Egypt and secured control of Alexandria, the last gateway into the East was barred to Italian enterprise. Thenceforth, though Genoa retained some fragments of her old privileges in the Levantine ports, and Venice collected the fragments of her old commerce, the Portuguese sea-way about Africa remained without a rival in the eastern trade and the Italian cities, finally excluded from its profits, sank into relative commercial insignificance.

Spain and Germany

But this was not the only, nor perhaps the greatest change effected in these years. Not merely had the trade routes shifted; there were strong indications that the balance of financial, and even political power was to follow the same course. Had Spain and Portugal, with all the wealth they brought from oversea, maintained their home economy unimpaired, they might have become the masters of European finance and politics. But even at the height of Portugal's monopoly of the eastern trade, it was the merchants of the northern nations who reaped the profits of exchanging those products for the necessities of life which their fellow-countrymen produced and of which Portugal found herself in want.

At the crowning-point of Spanish success in America, it was the bankers of central Germany who financed the policies of Charles V, and, owing to the short-sightedness of the landholders and the development of a huge corporation of wool-growers in Spain, which deprived that nation of its arable land and a more varied industry, it was the artisans and farmers of northern Europe who supplied the mining industry of Spanish America with food and tools. Thus, thanks to the devotion of the Iberian peoples to a single industry, it was to other hands there fell the most enduring rewards for their activity. Lisbon and Seville, indeed, became the *entrepôts* of goods and bullion from non-European lands, and in so far replaced Venice and Genoa. But what the Italian cities had once been, Frankfort and Augsburg and Nuremberg, Antwerp and Amsterdam became—centers not only of commerce but of capital, and leaders in every field of trading and financial enterprise. The case of Nuremberg is typical. It grew up about a castle built in the eleventh century, and by imperial favor, no less than its situation and the energy of its citizens, grew rapidly in wealth and population. It lay on the highway between Italy and north Europe. Its art and architecture became the model for Germany; and it was the home of the great Meistersinger, Hans Sachs, as well as of Dürer. It was remarkable for its inventions, for to it is attributed the discovery of brass, and the art of wire-drawing, the first air guns and gunlocks, terrestrial and celestial globes, and the earliest watches, "Nuremberg eggs." But its position was weakened by the Portuguese discoveries, and the diversion of its trade and enterprise to other cities was typical of the great change then impending in Europe.

Germany

This leadership fell first from Italian into German hands, and it was not due wholly to the wealth drawn from Spain and Portugal. From early times the North Sea fisheries, the trade with Russia and with Scandinavia, with England and the farther north, had brought its profits and enriched the cities of the Hanseatic League, Bremen and Lübeck and Hamburg, in particular. As the fifteenth century proceeded, that trading confederation had declined before the rivalry of states whose people, like the English, took commerce into their own hands. But German enterprise found compensation in other fields. The silver mines of the Tyrol, in Salzburg and Bohemia, the copper of Hungary, the iron forges in Thuringia, the varied mineral wealth of the Harz and the Erzgebirge, enriched the declining supply of precious metals of the continent, and enabled the enterprising merchants of central Germany to increase their holdings and so finance still greater adventures. To this was added the development of manufactures, especially those of weaving and metal-work. In such fashion, at the same time that new centers of like activity in Italy, among which Florence was the chief, turned to trade with north African ports, and to the arts and crafts which brought them wealth and power, Augsburg, Frankfort, Nuremberg, and their neighbors in central Germany rose to European stature in finance and industry.

The age of capital

As their wealth increased the merchant class embarked on various ventures, financed voyages to Asia and America, opened new mines in the old world and the new, loaned money to sovereigns, provided capital for every enterprise which promised profit, and so were gradually transformed into bankers and financiers. With the rise of great accumulations of capital, and, above all, of a body of men skilled in commercial operations, there emerged an element whose wealth and ability contributed more to the communities in which they lived than all the conquests of the Iberian powers. The day of the soldier had reached its prime; as the age of capital came on the day of the merchant-banker began to dawn; and to its coming the vast increase of bullion from the Spanish colonies contributed. For that capital was inevitably drawn throughout the continent by the inexorable laws of mercantile exchange to which the false economy of Spain and Portugal contributed.

It did still more; for, joined to the rapid development of a higher scale of living, especially in the cities, and the demands of a more complex society as the sixteenth century advanced, it raised prices. And this, in turn, reacted in an infinite variety of ways. The ambitions of princes like Francis and Charles, with their extravagance, laid heavier burdens on their taxable subjects, the landlord classes. These, in turn, oppressed their tenants, inclosed the common lands, demanded money as well or in the place of service or of kind; and thus helped to precipitate a revolution in the social order. Among the complaints of the revolting German peasants, this grievance was continually in evidence; in the innumerable disturbances of the succeeding century which gradually revolutionized society, the substitution of a money economy for service or exchange in kind played a great part. And, closely bound up with this far-reaching change, another element, which was its peculiar product, began to take a still greater share in the affairs of Europe.

Finance

This was the development of finance. The phenomenon was not new, for by the beginning of the fifteenth century Italy had already laid the foundations of her fortune in trade. Apart from the commerce which her position brought, the Crusades had vastly stimulated her development. Her merchant vessels were used as transports; she sold supplies, financed adventurers, and from the increased connection between East and West drew fresh profits, till she had become not merely the mistress of Mediterranean trade, but a great reservoir of capital. Her merchants became financiers, and, like the Bardi and Peruzzi of Florence, loaned money to princes as widely separated as the kings of England and Sicily. As the years went on, they became rulers in fact, even in name. Such, to take one instance of many, was the history of the Medici.

Banking

Building on this, by the natural development of credit and capital, there arose a system of banking in the chief cities of the peninsula. First came the mere bank of deposit, thence emerged the function of loaning money. And, as the prejudice against interest or usury gave way before the insistent demands of business and politics, that branch of economic activity passed from the hands of Jews, who had monopolized its profits as long as the church had frowned upon the practice. Money was recognized as a commodity, like wood or steel, and it became legitimate to make a profit on its use.

Thence, following the practice of the Florentines who made that city the financial center of Europe for so many years, Venice and Genoa established banks, backed by their merchants, which became virtually the masters of the state; and these became the prototypes for all Europe. With the advance of capital to the north this same development followed in due course, now vastly reinforced by Spain's bullion. The store of precious metals grew by leaps and bounds, the scale of operations correspondingly increased, and, as the sixteenth century advanced, the northern merchants, like their predecessors of the south, became, if not territorial rulers, at least no inconsiderable factors in public affairs.

The Fuggers

Nothing can better illustrate this process than the rise of the great German family of Fugger, which, by the middle of the sixteenth century, personified the triumph of capital in the northern states. Its founder, a weaver near Augsburg, left at his death in 1409 a fortune considerable for those days of some three thousand gulden. His son, in turn, increased that sum, moved to Augsburg, and there became the head of the guild of weavers. Of his three sons one continued the family business with eminent success, one made another fortune in the mines of the Tyrol, loaned the Archduke of Austria no less than 150,000 florins, and built a splendid castle, the Fuggerau. All three married ladies of noble family and were themselves ennobled by the Emperor, Maximilian, to whom they loaned no less than a quarter of a million florins. By the beginning of the sixteenth century two representatives remained in the business, which, following the great discoveries, had spread to the remotest corners of the European world. They financed Charles V's campaign against the Lutherans and his crusade against Algiers; they became bankers to the Pope; they even undertook the "farming," or contract for the sale of indulgences in Germany.

They were raised to the dignity of counts; and when the younger died in 1560 his estate was reckoned at six million gold crowns, besides vast properties in Europe, Asia, and America. Nor were they mere getters of money. Their philanthropy and their patronage of art were equally remarkable; and, like the Medici, they contributed no less to the progress of politics and society than to the economic development of the European world. And it was of them that Charles V spoke when, on being shown the royal treasure of France, he observed that he had among his subjects a weaver of Augsburg whose wealth surpassed that of the French monarch.

Public banks

The Fuggers were but the greatest of a great class then spreading northward through the continent. They still were merchant-bankers; not until the years preceding the Armada was the first public bank, within our meaning of the word, founded at Venice. But the great change was on its way. Twenty years later Amsterdam took up the principle, and though for a century more the private merchant-banker or goldsmith remained the chief financial power of Europe, the principle was established. As he contributed to the ambitions of the absolute princes, his monopoly was early attacked by lower classes who attributed to him that rise in prices and that tendency of wealth to concentrate in a few hands, which was only in part due to the shrewdness of these men who took advantage of a general movement of which they were themselves a product. The age of barter and exchange was giving way to that of money as rapidly as Europe obtained sufficient specie to effect the change. And as the old system tended to disappear, the whole fabric of society, unconscious and largely ignorant of the causes which lay behind the phenomena affecting its existence, found every fiber of that existence modified by the economic revolution thus produced.

Industry

With the development of capitalism was closely bound up a profound change in the system of industry. The guilds which had overspread the greater part of western Europe by the thirteenth century had gradually declined after that period of ascendancy. The organizations of masters tended to become more or less hereditary and more exclusive. The journeymen, whose ambitions to become masters were thus limited, organized their own associations more closely, and as the fifteenth century went on came more and more into conflict with the masters. It was, indeed, long before either form of organization gave way entirely before new systems, but, as the older guilds had reached their climax in the thirteenth, so the journeymen attained their highest development in the first half of the sixteenth century. Thereafter, however each maintained its existence in some form, each declined in numbers and influence till they no longer played any considerable part in European industry.

Capitalism and industry

Their functions were gradually absorbed by the new form of productive and distributing organization which had risen to prominence in the preceding hundred years, and by the middle of the sixteenth century was coming to dominate manufacturing,—the so-called domestic or putting-out system. The arrangement which divided and specialized the processes of making and selling goods was in line with the tendencies in the intellectual fields. Whatever its defects, it became apparent that a plan which provided a middleman, skilled in buying raw material, finding markets, employing labor, and furnishing capital, while leaving the actual production to those equally skilled in their crafts, was superior to the old-fashioned guild-master who was at once an artisan and a man of business. The guild system, however well adapted to an age when the source of supply, and, in particular, the market was relatively limited, came to be more and more out of place with the widening area and greater scope of operations. The growth of capital, like the increasing demand for goods, necessitated such a transformation. Save in certain trades like glass-making and iron-working, which were restricted by problems of supply of raw materials and a more intensive process of manufacture, this development, moreover, contributed to the solution of that greater density of population, which, with the growth of cities whose area was constricted by their walls, was becoming a matter of some concern.

JACOB FUGGER, "THE RICH."

After the painting by Dürer.

For under the new organization the promoter or employer was able to put out the process of manufacture over a considerable area, and was not, like the old guild master, confined to production under one roof. Moreover, he was better able, by his supply of capital, to buy and sell to better advantage by taking advantage of the market to accumulate a larger stock. Finally, the new system became a powerful influence toward that individualism which marked the progress from the relatively greater communal principles that characterized the middle ages. It differentiated more sharply capital from labor, it tended to destroy the personal bond between employer and employee, master and apprentice, and to substitute for it the impersonal relationship which has become the mark of modern industrialism. These results were not yet accomplished; and not until the rise of the factory system were they fully in evidence. But by the middle of the sixteenth century they had begun to show themselves in something of the form which later generations were to develop. And, by laying stress upon process rather than finished product, they began to create classes of specialists in various branches of labor, which, again, was to become one of the dominating features of modern industry.

Capitalism and the guilds

It was inevitable that as capitalism made its way into European life it should profoundly influence every department of society. Though few or none of the greater European states followed the example of Florence and sanctioned the accession of a merchant prince to the headship of public affairs, there was not one in which the emergence of a capitalistic element did not affect both public and private policy. The most immediate effect of the financial revolution was naturally felt in those quarters whose older organization was most directly concerned with the developments in the field of industry—the guilds. They were essentially provincial in their character, bound, for the most part, to the localities in which they were situated, and connected with the outside world by traveling merchants who made their way from town to town, and fair to fair. It was apparent from the first that a system like that of capitalistic enterprises, bound to no one locality and to no single line of industry, had an advantage over the guilds, with their limited output and still more limited facilities for marketing their products. Thus it was not long before these old organizations were forced to alter their status or retire from competition. In the main they adopted one of two alternatives. They became capitalistic, and were transformed into a species of corporation, composed in many instances of those same men who had turned from the old order to the new—or they remained merely local industries, subordinated to the greater currents of commerce. Little by little they tended to disappear, and, save as curious survivals of the past, another century found in active existence few of those extraordinary organisms which had dominated the industrial life of the middle ages.

Capitalism and labor

Still more remarkable was the influence of capital upon the agricultural laborer, and its pervasive power combined with other elements to begin a revolution in the social as well as the economic status of those districts into which it made its way. In the main Europe was still organized, during the fifteenth century, on feudal lines, but to this there were striking exceptions. The Black Death and the Peasants' Revolt in England toward the close of the fourteenth century had dealt a serious blow to serfdom, and in many parts of the continent an altering standard of life or more enlightened interest had begun to weaken the hold of lords upon their tenants. To this the development of cities contributed, for the guilds, scarcely less than the church, had offered a means of escape from serfdom to the more enterprising or more fortunate peasant who found refuge within their liberties. With the progress of commerce, and especially of manufacturing, the cities grew, and with them the opportunities for free labor developed. The demand for workers produced a supply drawn from many sources, and by the middle of the sixteenth century the town-dwelling laboring population had increased considerably. At the same time the gradual substitution of payment in money rather than kind

and the towns

or service tended to loosen the bond between landlord and tenant, as the decline of the feudal principle, with the development of the power of the king, tended to the same end. Thus, while the age of capital had as its first result the greater oppression of the peasant classes through the increased demands of their superiors for greater revenue, it gradually relieved more and more individuals from the feudal yoke.

Antwerp

If the rise of the house of Fugger typifies the altering status of the individual, the almost concurrent development of the city of Antwerp illustrates the changing conditions of commerce, and, in some degree, of the life of Europe during these momentous years. However favorably situated for the foundation of fortunes central Germany had been during the fifteenth century, it had one great disadvantage as the sixteenth century came on. The decline of the Italian ports and the rise of Spain and Portugal seriously injured those old lines of commerce which had flowed across the Alps and down the Rhine. If those fortunes should live, still more if they were to increase, access to the sea was a necessity. In consequence, German capital sought a new outlet for its investments. Led apparently by the Augsburg merchant-bankers, the Germans followed the Venetians to Antwerp. There in the last quarter of the fifteenth century the Fuggers and Welsers and their fellows prepared to share the commerce of the world. The city authorities welcomed them, bought out the toll-rights of the landowners along the Scheldt, threw open their trading privileges to men of all nations, and made Antwerp at once a free port and a perpetual fair. More than this, it became, as a natural result of its commerce and policy, not only the chief center of the trade between Lisbon and the northern ports, but the great money market for the northern continent. For its more liberal policy soon gave it pre-eminence over those neighbors which, like Bruges, had earlier divided the prosperity of the Netherlands. Thence the principles of trade which made its fortune tended to be transmitted to other communities, to the Dutch Netherlands, where Amsterdam rose gradually to almost equal eminence, to England, and to the greater cities of France.

Capitalism, classes, and nationality

Now that capital had proved itself fluid, it produced two series of phenomena of great importance to Europe at home and beyond the sea. One was the development of classes of laborers and employers, no longer bound by the old ties of guild and local authority. This reacted in politics, for it became increasingly apparent to rulers that it was necessary to take into account the interests of every element of society if the state was to flourish. And, as the Italian city-states had long since begun that process of encouraging different industries within the same area and interdependent one upon the other, as some cities had even gone so far as to control the food supply in the interests of the community, so now the national kingships made the beginnings of organizing their dominions to the same end. By this extension of city economy to national economy they emphasized that spirit of common interest which operated powerfully to bring and hold the nations together, and so added another source of strength to the nationalizing tendency. As in religion, they substituted a unity in diversity for the communal unity of the middle ages.

Capitalism and the extra-European world

The influence of capital was not confined to the continent, nor to that class which now began to challenge the long domination of the landed interest. It sought investments not only in Europe itself, but in the most distant lands to which her adventurous sons had carried her influence. It had long since begun to finance voyages to the East and West. In America the investments of the Fuggers and Welsers were considerable, and to the latter house was even granted a certain sovereignty in the region about Coro. Mines and plantations, no less than voyages, enlisted the interest of the capitalists, as they began to demonstrate the possibility of profit, and another generation was to see that interest increase to the point where capital rather than adventure took the main part in the development of lands beyond the sea. In the meantime, that region had begun to react in many other ways upon old world society.

Europe and the extra-European world

It was now fifty years since Columbus had found the transatlantic passage and the lands that lay beyond, and a quarter of a century since Luther had defied the Pope. The generation which had seen a new world revealed to them was gone: the generation which had seen the old ecclesiasticism thus challenged was passing. Asia, Africa, America, the Atlantic and the Pacific were no longer marvelous; like the doctrines of Protestantism they were now a part of European knowledge and experience. Europe had outgrown the Mediterranean and the coasting stage of her career and entered on the oceanic age; as she had begun to abandon the age of unity for that of diversity of faith. As yet only the nations bordering on the Atlantic had sought the New World, and only two of them had achieved material results. As yet only parts of the northern peoples had been affected by Protestantism, and its doctrines had not made way outside the continent. But the balance of European thought and power had already begun to shift as Europe's horizon widened with the changing political, economic, and intellectual influences then busily at work, till every nation felt something of the colonial impulse, as every nation had been touched by the reforming movements in and out of the church. Portugal and Spain had done more than conquer and grow rich, they had altered the face of the world and the balance of its affairs. The reformers had done more than establish communions in opposition to the old establishment; they had powerfully reinforced the movement which led to the emancipation of the intellect from authority; and they had stimulated to an extraordinary degree that form of individualism which was so characteristic of the new age of commerce and capital.

Spain and Portugal

What, then, was the status and influence of the wider field on which Europe, under these new impulses at home, was about to play a greater part than had thus far been vouchsafed her in the world's affairs? The expansion of Portugal and Spain had not been, indeed, the transfer of their own social structure to their new domains, but rather the exploitation of those territories by a ruling caste. For this there were two reasons: the first was royal influence, the second, national conditions. From the beginning both states had looked askance at unrestricted emigration as at unrestricted trade; for each the royal permission was requisite, and it was not easy to obtain. At the same time, few of the causes which produce an exodus—excess of population, decline of home resources, religious or political persecution—had much affected Spain or Portugal. Their population was not dense, no economic crisis drove them out, and persecuted classes were forbidden to emigrate. There was, in consequence, no unimpeded current from all orders of society flowing out, and the earliest communities formed by the Europeans in other lands were widely different from those they knew at home.

Character of their expansion

Their motives, in fact, lay rather in the realms of adventure and religion, royal and national and personal ambitions, and were chiefly a product of the upper class. It was an age of war; and soldiers, not merchants, had led the way to East and West. It was an age of faith; and, from Henry the Navigator to Pizarro, the crusading spirit was in evidence. It was an age of national kingship; and every conqueror struck for the profit of his sovereign as for his own. It was pre-eminently an age of royalty, nobility, clergy, and it was those elements which chiefly won and enjoyed the new inheritance. In trading, as in planting colonies, officials, soldiers, landlords, and even merchants were recruited from the upper classes. There was no peasantry, only slaves or serfs or tribute-yielding communities. And in one respect European civilization was set back centuries; for slavery, which had all but disappeared upon the continent, was revived in certain quarters there, and generally throughout the colonies, to an extent scarcely experienced since the fall of Rome.

Moreover, there was little of that slow conquest of the soil and expulsion of the inhabitants which marks the advance of a freehold society, multiplying as it goes from its own land or loins, till it has replaced the original population with its own homogeneous race of every rank of life. Eminently fitted for conquest, the conquerors were ill adapted to build up such a society. They knew and cared for little beyond their own fortunes: they were a handful among the conquered. For purposes of protection, society, or trade, in consequence, they concentrated in the towns they found or founded. Having won empires by a daring stroke, they held them by a chain of garrisons. With them authority came wholly from above; the bureaucracy was supreme; and, save in a few places, they laid no foundations for enduring supremacy. Their language, faith, and institutions spread, but no full-blooded powerful Spanish or Portuguese race, like that of the English in later times, was established beyond the sea. Perhaps this would have been impossible. Their empires were largely tropical; the lands best fitted for a temperate agricultural society were long ignored in their pursuit of sudden wealth. And while experience has gone to prove that European power in such latitudes must finally depend upon such forces as they used, it has revealed, as well, the instability of such power as theirs, once the controlling hand is weakened or removed.

Their differences

Great as were the resemblances between their empires, the contrasts have seemed, to most men, greater still, since Spain's power rested on territory, Portugal's on trade. The differences, it has been assumed, lay largely in the peoples and conditions that each met, since Asia's teeming millions afforded as little space for colonies as the more slightly peopled regions of America afforded trade. Yet in this earlier period there was need of a world of men for Spanish no less than Portuguese ambitions. With slight exceptions, the Spaniards took small account of sparsely settled lands; what Calicut and Diu were to their rivals, Mexico and Peru were to them, and their energies were spent far less on the cultivation of the soil than on the exploitation of its peoples and its wealth. The real difference lay deeper. Had Portugal been possessed of greater power she might have taken part in Indian politics, invaded the interior, and perhaps anticipated by two centuries the European occupation of the peninsula. Had Spain not been distracted by foreign wars, had she been filled with men eager to find homes in the new world, she might have occupied those lands best fitted for European settlement and set up New Spain in North America. But the genius of Portugal lay toward the sea, Spain's was all landward; and both were filled with the spirit of chivalry rather than that of commerce or colonization. In widely different fields this rivalry worked out to widely different ends, by not dissimilar means, each in its own environment, and each determined largely by conditions at home no less than those it found abroad.

Their effect on the non-European world

What, then, was their effect on the non-European world? The answer is significant, not alone for this but for all periods. Even had Portugal become the ruling territorial power in the East, it is not probable she could have imposed her faith and civilization on its peoples to the extent Spain influenced the new world. That she so failed was due to no superior tenderness on her part; for it is probable that the losses she inflicted on the East were quite as great as those Spain visited on America, and, if Europeanizing be regarded as desirable, to far less purpose. But her comparative weakness, coupled with indifference to all but material ends, made small impression on the huge weight of Oriental forces against her, and to them she brought little or nothing. On the other hand, if Spaniards conquered and oppressed America, they made a great return. Teeming with life, the West was curiously lacking in domestic animals, its range of fruits and vegetables was narrow; and, from the first, Spanish administration and individuals labored to remedy these deficiencies. Horses and cattle, donkeys, swine, sheep, and poultry were introduced, with garden vegetables, lemons and oranges, vines, olives, silkworms and mulberries, flax and grains. As time went on the conquerors brought, besides, the products of Asia, sugar, coffee, indigo. The use of iron, gunpowder, the improvement of industrial and mechanical arts, the infinite devices of a more highly civilized society, all these increased the material bases of life in the New World. And more: the intellectual achievements of European society, however distorted by the medium through which they were introduced, however slowly penetrating the masses, were destined to bring some recompense to the West for the spoliation and suffering which it endured. The effect on population was no less marked. For, like the Portuguese and over far wider areas, the Spanish intermarried with the natives, till, within a century, there had arisen what was virtually a new race between the relatively few of pure European blood and the masses of natives. These *mestizos,* so-called, thus added another element, and one of importance, to swell the results of Spanish conquest.

The effect of Asia and America on Europe

On the other hand, America, apart from gold, silver, and precious stones, cotton, tobacco, cocoa, and, later, drugs like quinine, contributed little to her conquerors. Her staple, Indian corn or maize, like her chief fruit, bananas, took no hold on European palates. Not for centuries was her cotton much used; and cocoa, with tobacco, and presently the potato, long remained her only considerable contributions to old world resources. Asia's additions, on the contrary, were almost incalculable. With its spices, drugs, cottons, silks, gold, ivory, rare woods, jewels and handiwork, pigments of all sorts, coffee and tea, new forms of animal life, horses, poultry, and new plants, it contributed to the material no less than the intellectual advance of European civilization.

In politics the effect was not dissimilar. America, with all its suffering under Spanish rule, found greater peace than when subject to constant wars between the native tribes; and, however slight the change in oppression under new masters, in general a more regular government set the people on the path to higher levels. On the other hand, Portugal was rather Orientalized than her possessions Europeanized, in morals, if not in forms of government. Thus each brought from the older or more stable civilization to the newer the greater contributions. At the same time each became the means by which Europe drew to itself the resources of other continents. She became at once a repository and a clearing-house of products and ideas from the entire world, and this result, which was then impossible to men of other lands, gave her an impetus and a supremacy which she has since maintained. Thus, as the mid-sixteenth century approached, her people found wide fields for further enterprise and unparalleled resources on which to draw, as, from their complex activity emerged the earliest phases of a modern world.

CHAPTER XI

THE AGE OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT. 1542-1563

The result of Luther's challenge

1521

When, in that momentous pause which followed Luther's refusal to recant his doctrines before the Diet of Worms, Germany stood half astounded, half triumphant, at his temerity; while the Papal nuncio drew up an edict against the daring heretic; the Emperor's secretary, Valdez, wrote prophetically: "Here you have, as some imagine, the end of this tragedy, but I am persuaded it is not the end but the beginning of it. . . . This evil might have been cured . . . had not the Pope refused a general council. . . . But while he insists that Luther shall be condemned and burned, I see the whole Christian republic hurried to destruction unless God himself help us." Whatever the relative responsibility of Pope and Emperor for that repressive policy, the history of the two decades which ensued had been a full confirmation of Valdez' prophecy. In that brief period the revolt against Papal authority had overspread the greater part of Teutonic Europe, and threatened to invade those chief strongholds of the faith, the Romance nations. Western Christendom was now divided against itself, and it was evident that only drastic measures would enable the Papacy to retain even the power that remained to it. It was no less evident that its old weapons had been blunted, that condemnation and the stake were no longer efficacious; that excommunication, interdict, and anathema had lost their force. Single-handed, the Pope was no match for the heretics; and, however reluctantly, the church was summoned to his aid.

Summons to the Council of Trent 1542

Twenty-one years, almost to a day, after Valdez penned his famous prophecy, therefore, Paul III, fearing the Emperor might anticipate him in calling a meeting of ecclesiastical authorities, issued a summons for a general council to meet at Trent in the Tyrol. It was an epoch-making period. Spain and Portugal had just attained their widest limits; the former was issuing her great colonial code, the latter was sponsoring the advent of the Jesuits into the extra-European world. On the continent, Charles V had lost Hungary and failed in his crusade against Algiers, and was now entering upon his fifth war against Francis I, while in his German dominions his Protestant subjects were organizing that so-called League of Schmalkald which was presently to play a great part in Reformation history. In England Henry VIII had just beheaded his fifth wife and was entering upon that conflict with Scotland which ended in the death of the Scotch king and the accession of his daughter Mary, Queen of Scots. More important still to the development of Europe than royal wars or marriage or divorce, in distant Poland, Copernicus was seeing through the press his work on the revolution of celestial bodies, destined to have an influence upon theology even more profound than the great assembly now about to meet.

Its purpose

The Council of Trent, none the less, remains a landmark in the ecclesiastical development of Europe, not merely for what it accomplished but for the circumstances which accompanied and in no small degree determined its activities. When it finally came together at the solicitation of the Emperor, who felt the urgent need of church reform in his dominions, it was apparent that the time had arrived for determined action if the church was to be preserved. Whether, as Valdez and many others believed, its earlier meeting would have checked the disruptive forces then at work, or turned them to the uses of the establishment, those forces had now gained strength which even a church council could not well ignore. The last of such assemblies to which all western Europe was summoned, it was the closing chapter of an old régime, for the Council of Trent faced a revolt which compelled it to review the whole fabric of the Christian church. Its history, thus powerfully influenced by the political events which accompanied its long and chequered career, illlustrates with peculiar force the complex period in which it fell.

Its first meeting

The first summons to the council was issued in 1542, but its first meeting was not held for three years thereafter; and to that there came only some forty ecclesiastics, chiefly Spaniards and Italians. In consequence the Protestants refused 1545 to recognize it as a real ecumenical council. Nor was this all. The Emperor's chief object in urging a council was the consideration of reforms within the church itself; but to its members the most important problem seemed the challenge of Lutheran and Calvinist; and in consequence they proceeded to debate not abuses and conciliation but dogma. Thus early was statesmanship subordinated to theology.

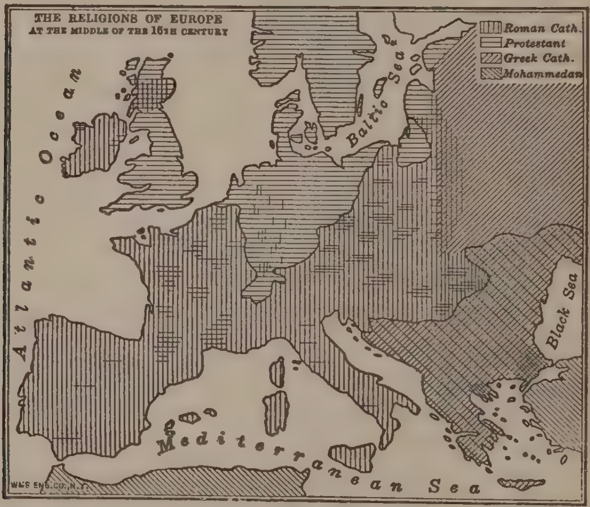
Its history

In no small degree the first meeting was typical of the whole council. The political as well as the religious situation of German affairs compelled an adjournment to Bologna. The Protestants sent delegates. But another turn in the imperial fortunes again transferred the council to Trent; 1547 and, after numerous sessions at intervals during some eighteen years and the final secession of the Protestants, the assembly was dissolved. 1563 The net result was what might have been expected under the circumstances. The chief strength of the members was spent on issues of theology, and the Papal contention prevailed. Discussion on revelation was followed by fierce debate upon the great and decisive question of justification; and in this the tendency was to uphold without reserve the Roman doctrine, to put it broadly, of justification by works, progressive and dependent on the sacraments, as against the Protestant dogma of justification by faith.

Its work

To this, in the course of the two decades which elapsed between the first summons and the dissolution of the council, were added other and no less important elements. The first was the full recognition of the Society of Jesus. The second was the revival and extension of the Holy Office or Inquisition, whose supreme tribunal was established at Rome, and whose agents or inquisitors were appointed to search out and extirpate heresy in every land, "above all toward Calvinists." The third was the establishment of a catalogue of books, which the faithful were forbidden to read, the *Index Expurgatorius,* which carried the principles and practices of the Inquisition into the field of letters. Besides these still, the council reinforced the efforts of the Papacy, to strengthen the position of the church in other particulars. The doctrines of purgatory, of the sacraments, the invocation of the saints, and of indulgences were reaffirmed with new strength and precision. Doubtful interpretations were replaced with definite dogma; and uniformity of faith and practice established to a degree hitherto unknown. And though nothing was done to affect the position or the prerogatives of the Pope or the cardinals, which, in no small degree, had been the occasion of the chief discontent with the establishment, strict measures were taken to strengthen the bishops' authority, to enforce a more rigid discipline upon the lesser clergy, and to check the abuse of so-called pluralities. At the same time, largely under Jesuit influence, the church embarked upon a far-reaching scheme of clerical education. It was decreed that in each diocese there should be established a seminary or college for the training of those

c. 1550



entering the service of the church; and for the general enforcement of this policy there was provided for the first time an adequate supply of men properly equipped for ecclesiastical office. This served many purposes. It removed the reproach of illiteracy, long leveled against the lower clergy in particular. It did much to sharpen the distinction between clergy and laity and improved the efficiency, the discipline, and the *esprit de corps* of the ecclesiastical body. And, supplemented by the rigid enforcement of celibacy, which further differentiated churchmen from laymen, it became at once the most practical result of the council and the step which most separated the church from the forces making for modernism. Stronger, if narrower, "the Catholic Church of the West was transformed into the Church of Rome," and the Counter-Reformation, as it came to be called, formally took its place in European affairs in opposition to the Protestant Revolt. And the authority of the Papacy, immensely strengthened by its success in turning the council to its own advantage, finally attained that almost absolute supremacy in the Roman church which it has never lost.

Its result

Thus the church, through the council, defied changes from without; and though accepting many of the newer agencies developed within its own ranks, she made compromise with the Protestants impossible. Thenceforth there were but two alternatives for the adherents of the new communions, to surrender or to fight. That choice to all intents had been made even before the council had finished its long deliberations, since, apart from their own stand, concrete events outside the shadowy realm of speculation over free-will and predestination, faith and works, and the intent of God toward man, had gone far to determine the future of fact and theory alike. For, in that interval, religion had become a main concern of politics.

The religious wars and the extension of civil authority

That circumstance, which was an inevitable outgrowth of the developments of the time, marks the beginning of a great epoch of European history, the era of religious wars, which was to endure for a full century. Between Luther's defiance of the Papacy and the meeting of the Council of Trent, nearly a generation had elapsed. During that period the continent had been rent by international rivalry and theological dispute as never before in its history. But thus far those destructive forces had not been fully combined, partly because the greater rulers were still nominally Catholic, partly because of danger from the Turk, and, perhaps more largely, because the Vatican still claimed the sole right to determine ecclesiastical questions, and the balance as yet hung undetermined among conservative, reformer, and revolutionist. But while the council debated, two developments in the world of politics altered the whole situation. The one was the encroachment of rulers upon the field of church affairs, the other was the progress of those forces of political and social readjustment which found expression in the oncoming race of sovereigns.

The progress of civil authority

For Protestantism in its narrower sense was not the only foe to the old order thus marshaling its forces to the fight. The controversies of the preceding decades had already brought another element into the fray. This was the transfer of men's allegiance from clerical to civil authority. Beside the Papal assertion of divine origin for its supremacy had appeared the doctrine of the divine right of kings. Against the priestly claim to be the keepers of men's consciences there had arisen a demand for personal independence in matters spiritual. In the minds of men who held such views as these the Pope was no longer the sole arbiter of Europe in religion, the church no longer the sole repository of true faith. As a natural result, kings, states, communities, and even individuals had begun to assume functions long held as church prerogatives. And, as feudal and imperial power tended to decline; as changing economic conditions bred a middle class, which sheltered itself against aristocratic domination beneath the growing power of absolute kingship; as knowledge increased and was diffused among the people at large; there came a readjustment of the relations and the authority of church and state alike. In consequence politics took form and color from the altering spirit of the times no less than from the actual situation of affairs; and the period which began with the Council of Trent revealed a new temper no less than new events.

England Its most conspicuous example was to be found in England. There the activity of Henry VIII had not merely broken her connection with the Papacy, undermined the economic basis of the old church by dissolution of the monasteries, and separated the nation from Roman control. It had bred a nobility of "new men," whose wealth was derived in large measure from the spoils of the church, and whose position was dependent on the favor of the crown. At the same time it had enabled the doctrines of the reformed communions, in particular those of the Calvinists, to spread with great rapidity through the nation. And when, two years after the council began its sessions, Henry VIII died and **1547** his son, the boy-prince Edward VI, came to the throne, these elements almost at once gained the ascendancy. Under the guidance of the new nobility, now, like the king, avowedly Protestant, the final breach was made. A new church was organized, with a new liturgy, modeled on that of Rome, but doctrinally Protestant, and England was thus ranged on the side of the Reformed communion at the same moment that the Council of Trent condemned the rebellious heretics.

This was not the end of the struggle. Edward's short reign was followed by that of his sister, Mary the Catholic, **1553** the wife of Charles V's son, Philip of Spain; and her accession saw the beginning of the effort to roll back the tide. The Protestants were suppressed and persecuted; their liturgy condemned; its author, Archbishop Cranmer, with many others, burned at the stake; and an attempt made to restore not merely the faith but the confiscated property of the church to its old footing. Such forcible measures roused bitter opposition. The "blood of the martyrs became the seed of the church," the holders of ecclesiastical lands were alienated; and only Mary's death saved England from reaction or civil war.

1558 The accession of her sister, Elizabeth, determined the conflict finally in favor of the Protestants. New acts of supremacy and uniformity gave the Church of England the sanction of the Parliament; and a new liturgy, like that of Edward, Roman in form but Protestant in doctrine, provided it with spiritual garb. The older organization revised to fit its altered character was preserved, and, thus endowed, the Church of England took its stand beside the Lutheran and Calvinist creations in opposition to the Roman establishment. At the same time the fiery zeal of John Knox carried the Calvinistic doctrines from Geneva to Scotland, there to found that branch of Protestantism known as Presbyterian. And, despite the opposition of the adherents of the old faith in both kingdoms, which was to be productive of long disturbances, all Britain was thus added to the ranks of the Reformed communions, though Ireland remained all but untouched by their influences.

France But England, though she presently became the focus of a new international situation, was not alone in the political and religious complexities which characterized these mid-decades of the sixteenth century. **1547** France, under Henry II, who succeeded Francis I in the same year that Edward VI became king of England, went far on the road to Calvinism as the rising power of the so-called Huguenots became a factor in her history. Like his father, Henry made war on Charles V, but with more success; like him he came to blows with England and Spain; and had he lived, France might have found a better solution of her religious problem. But his **1559** untimely death, which brought to the throne in quick succession the sixteen-year-old Francis II and the still younger Charles IX, threw affairs into the hands of their mother, the Queen Dowager, Catherine de Medici. Under her malign influence the nation drifted to civil war, and a disastrous rivalry between the Catholic house of Guise and the Protestant house of Bourbon, with all its bloody consequences.

Meanwhile, what John Knox called ''this monstrous regiment of women'' who directed the fate of nations in this eventful period, was increased by Margaret of Parma, appointed regent of the Netherlands, and by Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, the wife of Francis II of France, whose death a year after his accession had left the French crown in possession of the boy Charles IX. To her titles she added a claim to the throne of England, which, joined to her adherence to the Roman church, was destined to lead three nations into war and bring to her the fate which makes her one of the great tragic figures in history. 1560

Thus, while the new communions challenged the dominance of their older rival, by whom they were condemned, while every northern state from France to Poland, divided against itself upon religious lines, and the European map became defined, in large degree, by theological boundaries, the Franco-Hapsburg rivalry merged into a larger and a more complex issue.

Germany

The first developments in this new conflict were found in Germany, whose affairs, meanwhile, had run a spectacular course. To the early disturbances which had accompanied the Lutheran revolt had succeeded the transfer of the controversy to the imperial diet; and there had ensued, after the Peace of Nuremberg, ten years of virtual tolerance, in face of the perpetual danger from the Turks. That period the reformers had improved. The rulers of Brandenburg and ducal Saxony had been converted to their cause. A Protestant duke had been restored in Würtemberg. Brunswick had been conquered and added to the ranks of the new communion; and the Schmalkaldic League had increased in numbers and activity. These were phenomena which the Emperor could not witness with equanimity. And when the Archbishop Elector of Cologne, like many of his brethren, was reported to be considering a course like that of Albert of Hohenzollern, which would change his faith, turn his lands into a secular fief, and thus give the Protestants a majority in the Electoral College itself, Charles deemed it high time to intervene. 1532-42

The Schmalkaldic War 1546-

Scarcely had he concluded the Treaty of Crespy which brought to an end his fourth war with Francis I, and agreed with the French king to take joint action against the heretics, when he turned upon the German Protestants. He won over their ablest leader, Duke Maurice of Saxony, summoned Spanish and Italian troops to his aid, and fell upon the forces of the Schmalkaldic League, which had been collected to support the Protestant interest. The contest was short and decisive. The armies of the League were overthrown, their commanders, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, were made prisoners, Maurice was rewarded with an electorate, and Charles became the master of Germany in fact as in name.

His triumph was short-lived; for scarcely was it achieved when his allies deserted him. At the same moment the 1547 death of Francis I brought Henry II to the French throne and Edward VI succeeded his father in England. From neither could the Emperor hope for aid. The Pope, fearful of the Imperial encroachment on his prerogative of dealing with religious questions, withdrew his support; and the Council of Trent, to which Charles looked for assistance in reforming the recognized abuses of the establishment, was absorbed in the denunciation of heretics. More important still, the Emperor's course in Germany itself alienated his adherents. For though he separated the Netherlands from the Empire, he settled its succession in the house of Hapsburg; and while he kept the Protestant princes in prison he attempted to force the Diet into a course which would have made him the military dictator of all Germany. Most important of all, Maurice felt his position threatened by the imperial policy, and this determined the event. The Saxon ruler secretly changed sides, allied himself with France, gathered forces, and marched against the unsuspecting Emperor, who was compelled to flee. The captive princes were freed; Charles was forced to withdraw his Spanish troops 1552 from Germany and grant tolerance by the Peace of Passau.

The Peace of Augsburg 1555

The ultimate result of this romantic feat of arms was as striking as the exploit itself. For by the great Peace of Augsburg which ensued, each German prince was empowered to decide for himself and for his subjects which of the communions should be adopted in his dominions. Such was the principle of *cujus regio, ejus religio* under which the Empire enjoyed two generations of uneasy religious peace.

Thus from the situation so evoked in Britain, France, and

Germany three main features emerged. The one was the perpetuation of the reformed communions; the second was the existence in every state of a party at odds with its government upon political and religious grounds; the third was the alignment of European states in two opposing camps. From these three elements proceeded the next stage of European politics.

Renewal of European War

It was characterized by new and bloody wars. France, attacked by England and Spain at once, became a land debatable among Guise, Bourbon, and Valois, contending for the throne; and between Calvinist and Catholic striving for religious supremacy. The old Anglo-Scottish quarrel was now embittered no less by the conflicting claims of rival queens than by the fierce antagonism of hostile confessions which involved not merely the British Isles, but all western Europe in their struggles, and in no long time carried their contentions to the most distant quarters of the earth. From such increasing turmoil of church and state the Emperor, Charles V, withdrew in the year following the Peace of 1556 Augsburg. Weary of power, he conferred his German lands upon his brother Ferdinand; Spain with her colonies, the Netherlands, Milan, and Sicily upon his son, Philip II; and retired to monastic life.

With the passing of that great figure from the stage a new era began, and if Charles sought peace, the event soon justified his choice. Scarcely was the new Emperor crowned king of Hungary and Bohemia when he was called upon to fight the Turks who held the greater part of his Hungarian inheritance. Scarcely was the new king of Spain upon his throne when, with the aid of his English wife, he entered on a disastrous war with France. From that conflict France emerged with the buttress-bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and the last English foothold on the continent, Calais, as prizes of her victory, confirmed to her by the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis. Hard upon this success, religious 1559 toleration was granted to the Huguenots, but to no avail, and France plunged into the first of those civil-religious wars which took the place of the long conflict with the Empire.

There the house of Hapsburg busied itself in consolidating its authority, while the Turks completed the reduction of the sea-power of the Italian states in the naval battle of Djerbe, and so became the virtual masters of the eastern Mediterranean. 1560

Results of the period

Thus ended those eventful twenty years in which religion and politics were joined in an unholy union. Protestantism was now firmly established among the northern peoples. Thenceforth for a century the domestic concerns of nearly every European state, as well as international affairs, were profoundly influenced by a diversity of opinion in matters spiritual, now identified with those concerns of war and diplomacy which hitherto had found their motives only in the ambitions of princes or, more rarely, in economic pressure. With this; with the extension of French sovereignty over Calais and the bishoprics, and the increase of the Spanish Hapsburg power in Italy; with the secularization of ecclesiastical estates in Germany; the expansion of Russia toward the Urals and the Black Sea; and the spread of Turkish power in the Levant, are summed up the chief permanent results of the vexed period of Charles V in the domain of continental politics.

Europe beyond the sea 1542-63

But the activities of European rulers by no means exhausted the interest or importance of European history in this eventful period. The summons to the Council of Trent marks an epoch in the religious and political development of Europe, and the ensuing twenty years, during which the council sat, determines the period in which the continent set forth on a fresh series of adventures in those realms. Meanwhile the issue of the New Laws and the events of the two decades following, mark an era of transition in the history of Europe beyond the sea. It is not without significance that the alteration of the motives and balance of European politics should coincide with the beginning of a new age in the colonial world. For with those changes in Europe itself and the reorganization of Europe beyond the sea there dawned an age in which both elements were joined in a world polity.

It was but natural that the rulers of Europe, absorbed in the critical events which accompanied the entry of the Reformation issues into the field of national and international affairs, should pay little heed to lands beyond the boundaries of the continent. Yet the developments in those lands during this period was of as great importance to them, and of more importance ultimately to their peoples, than many of the objects which engaged the attention of European statesmen and diplomats. Nothing, indeed, could have been more fortunate for the colonial powers in the situation which confronted them than such neglect; for each was actively engaged in strengthening its hold upon the western world, and each was in the stage when an attack might well have altered the future of its possessions and the whole current of colonial development. The age of exploration and conquest for Spain and Portugal was nearing its end; the age of readjustment and organization had begun; and, with the appearance of the New Laws, the Spanish dependencies, in particular, entered on a period of restlessness such as always characterizes a transition from license to restriction.

Mexico 1530-50

No circumstance better revealed the altered status of the colonies than the death of Hernando Cortez, which was coincident with those of Henry VIII and Francis I. Not many years earlier this would have been a determining event in the New World's affairs; now it was no part of Spanish colonial history, so far had the world moved since his great exploit. He had been long resident in Spain; contracted a great marriage; served Charles V in Africa; and, amid alternate honor and abuse, worn out his later years endeavoring to maintain the honors he had won. Meanwhile the province he had gained and set upon the path of European progress had for a dozen years pursued its course in widely different hands. Under Mexico's first Viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, schools had been built; a printing-press, the first outside of Europe, was set up; the ports improved; a mint established; sheep introduced and weaving encouraged. Above all, the harsh rule of military governors had been replaced by milder men and measures. On this development the New Laws had fallen like a curse. Not even Mendoza's power nor the eloquence of Las Casas, now bishop of Chiapas, availed against the determination of the *encomenderos*—among whom the religious orders were not the least violent—to maintain their hold upon that native labor to which they owed existence and prosperity. Within a year the New Laws were revoked; and, defeated in his dearest hope, the Apostle to the Indians left his diocese for Spain. There he penned an indictment of his countrymen which for three centuries and a half has condemned their colonial policy,—without, however, inducing any nation to treat its conquered on a basis of equality.

Mining

Such was the first stage of extra-European development along new lines. But even before Las Casas went a fresh turn of fortune gave new point to his attack and new riches to his countrymen. No sooner had the Spaniards exhausted the Aztec plunder than they began the search for the sources of native wealth. Mining succeeded conquest; the soldiers turned prospectors, though for a time with but indifferent success. But in the tenth year of Mendoza's viceroyalty, just as the Council of Trent began its labors and the Schmalkaldic war broke out in Germany, the luckiest of adventurers, Juan de Tolosa, found a vein of silver at Zacatecas in northern Mexico, whose yield was to surpass even the huge Aztec spoil. His success gave renewed impetus to prospecting, and an age of exploration ensued whose excitement reached the height which only a mining craze can attain. The adventurous element in New Spain, the islands, and the mother country joined in the rush. Thousands of prospects were begun, and though few or none met with such success as that of Zacatecas, many rich mines were opened, old ones reworked, till Mexico became, for the moment, the greatest source of silver for the European world.

1545-6

The *mita*

Besides this tremendous increase in its value to its possessors and to Europe generally, the coincident elevation of New Spain to archiepiscopal rank seemed all but insignificant. Yet, whatever the relative importance of the two events, a third, which resulted from the discovery of the sources of precious metals, overshadowed the other two in the minds of Spain's new subjects. This was the extension of forced labor to the mines. With their development the villages were levied on for workers more and more; and the wealth of the province became the greatest enemy to the welfare of its inhabitants. The *mita,* as this service was known, soon became the worst of all oppressions. Beside it the *repartimiento,* whence it grew, seemed almost beneficent, for the unfortunate natives sent to the mines went out to well-nigh certain death. Against the greed and cruelty of the mine-owners even the government was powerless; and when Mendoza was transferred to the viceroyalty of Peru he left the wealth and misery of Mexico increasing in equal pace.

Peru

Such were the beginnings of the new era of Spanish administration in North America, whose resources thus further increased the wealth and power of Europe. The history of Peru was not dissimilar. With all their ills the Mexicans were in far better case than the inhabitants of the unhappy province to which Mendoza had been transferred, since to the evils which beset New Spain, Peru had joined the curse of civil war. Under its first Viceroy, Nuñez de Vela, the **1544-** old conquerors had raised the earliest of colonial rebellions, as a protest against the New Laws. But de Vela's death was soon avenged by the licentiate priest, de Gasca, despatched to crush the rebels. Betrayed and overthrown, Gonzalo Pizarro and his fierce lieutenant, Carbajal, were executed **1547** and their heads hung in chains at Lima to discourage further revolt, as the province was cowed into uneasy peace.

But tragedy was not, in European view, the most important feature of the development of Peru. Like Mexico it was erected into an archiepiscopal diocese, from whose seat at Lima was organized the hierarchy of Spanish South America. Meanwhile, its agricultural prosperity, indeed, declined amid civil disturbances; and its enlightenment and industry suffered a corresponding loss. But this was more than counterbalanced by discoveries which, like those of New Spain, but in still greater measure, made Peru the chief source of precious metals in the world and the most valuable possession of Europe. To the rich mines of the Andean region, for whose possession the conquerors had been prepared to defy even the Spanish government, was added the discovery of 1545-6 silver deposits at Potosi, surpassing even the wealth of Zacatecas. The ensuing rush of prospectors sunk, it is said, ten thousand shafts, which poured into Spain a fresh flood of precious metal to enrich its coffers, and still further disturb the economic basis of Europe. And if, as in New Spain, native oppression became more severe, as the *mita* was rigidly enforced, while the Andean region felt the worst effects of European occupation, Peru became the most coveted of European colonies.

Spanish South America

Meanwhile the Spanish boundaries were widely extended by conquest as well as by the mining discoveries. The expeditions which still sought the fabled El Dorado about the headwaters of the Orinoco and the Magdalena were, indeed, unfortunate. There Orellano, the discoverer of the Amazon, was lost; there the efforts of the Welsers to establish a post broke down; but others finally founded a settlement at Tocuyo, and, with the appointment of a governor, confirmed the Spanish hold upon the Venezuelan hinterland. In widely 1535 different fields the same process went on. Far to the south the followers of the sturdy Basque, Irala, settled the upper Paraguay; west of them the conquerors of Chili, where Valparaiso was founded to secure the principal harbor of the southern coast, proceeded to the establishment of a capital at 1541 Santiago. Thence the conquering governor, Valdivia, parceled out the rich central region into baronies for his followers; and from there they fought their way southward against the warlike Araucanians to the frontier outpost of Concepcion. Meanwhile the mineral-bearing highlands of Bolivia became the seat of garrison-settlements. Beside the older post of Las Charcas, south of Lake Titicaca, was founded La Paz, and further east, within ten years, the town 1548 of Santa Cruz became the center of Spanish power in the easternmost Andes.

Thus, on every side, in the busy mid-decade of the sixteenth century, far-reaching areas were secured by rapidly advancing Spanish adventurers whose substantial gains were adding year by year more to the resources of the European world than all the barren rivalries of their rulers at home. In this pursuit they were aided by the achievements of the races they supplanted. The remote interior which, without its mineral wealth might have been spared the presence of Europeans for generations, was bound to the coast settlements by the pack-trains of llamas, along the Inca roads which led to every part of that empire. These not merely bore products of the forest and the mines to the world outside. With them came in return the men and goods of distant Europe, whose influence thus suddenly and violently thrust on America made it a part of Europe in its widest sense.

The Portuguese —Brazil

The activities of the Portuguese were also meanwhile engaged in extending European boundaries. While Spain was spreading her authority on the west, the governor of Brazil, Thome de Sousa, was engaged in building a new capital on Bahia bay, defended by strong walls, a fort, and batteries. Recruited by a stream of colonists drawn to the settlement on account of its planting advantages, not the least of which was its nearness to Africa and its supply of negro slaves, Bahia soon rivaled São Paulo and Pernambuco in the sugar-growing industry. At the same time, under the great Jesuit missionary, Nobrega, his order made its way into the wilderness, and, in defiance of the colonists, brought the natives under its control. **1549**

—Xavier

But neither Portuguese nor Jesuit energies were exhausted by their activities in Brazil. On the other side of the world the labors of Xavier meanwhile became the wonder of two continents, as, like his fellows, he bore the faith of Christ to distant lands and bound them to the fortunes of Europe. Goa, the pearl-fishers from Comorin to Pamban, Travancore, Ceylon, Malacca, Amboyna, and the Moluccas heard his voice; and five years after his arrival in Asia he set sail to carry the new faith to Japan, there to swell the total of what the faithful call his million converts. Perhaps no single force, and certainly no other individual, did more to bring the out- **1542-** **1552** side world in touch with Europe than Xavier and his order in this eventful decade.

The Philippines and India 1542

While he wrought his miracles of conversion, the carnal weapons of his sponsors were no less active. From New Spain Lopez de Villalabos led a squadron to the Philippines, named from the Spanish heir; and though the Portuguese compelled him to submission, his exploit drove them, in turn, to share Ternate and Tidore with the Spanish power and yield their claims to the Luzon archipelago. That surrender was a symbol of their waning power. With Xavier's aid, Malacca was preserved from the Sultan of Achin; but only fortunate chance and the desperate courage of its defenders saved Diu from the Cambayan king. Meanwhile, a whole world of enemies, east African, Arabian, and Malabar rulers, native princes from Diu to the Moluccas, Arab traders everywhere, and finally the Turks, who from their conquest of Egypt were drawn into the far-reaching quarrel, strove to drive the Christians out. Not a year went by without native attack, scarcely a year without a fleet from Goa or Lisbon to avenge insult or loss, and innumerable incidents of heroism and treachery repeated themselves in infinite variation on the same theme along ten thousand miles of border war. Though trade went on, though annual fleets made their way between Lisbon and India, though her scattered enemies beat in vain against the hard shell of her empire, the nation felt the strain. 1557 Save for the foundation of a post at Macao for the Chinese trade, they were compelled to be content with what they had. And when, following Xavier, the Inquisition made its way to India and the ecclesiastical period of her colonial history began, it needed but the appearance of another power in the East, able to cope with Portugal on the sea, to rouse her persecuted subjects everywhere against her rule.

The decline of Portugal

Corruption lent its aid further to weaken her. "I dare no longer govern India," wrote one of her viceroys, "since men are now so changed from honor and from truth." It was in vain that the viceroys were given a council to aid them and stricter laws were enacted against dishonesty;

salvation never comes by edicts and offices. Public and private virtue declined until, with John III's death, the chronicles declare, "ended the good fortune of Portugal in Europe and India." Such was the epitaph of her glory at home and abroad. Finally to crown her failure, her short-sighted king committed the fatal error of marrying his only son to Charles V's daughter. Thus he bound his country's destinies with the fortunes of its most dangerous enemy; and another generation was to see Portugal, as a result of this ill-fated marriage, an appanage of Spain. Such was the situation in the European world as the continent girded itself for the impending religio-political conflict in the decades during which the Council of Trent and the Protestants determined its future. 1557

CHAPTER XII

THE AGE OF PHILIP II AND THE RELIGIOUS WARS. 1563-1578

Maximilian II 1564-76

It is one of the great ironies of history that on Charles V's retirement from affairs the Netherlands fell into Spanish rather than into Austrian hands. Eight years after his abdication, the reign of Ferdinand, the heir to the great Emperor's German possessions, came to an end, and Maximilian of Austria succeeded to the Imperial throne and the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia. A mild man, inclined toward peace and not unfriendly to the Protestants, his path was 1566 smoothed by the death of Christendom's greatest enemy, Suleiman the Magnificent, and the consequent cessation of war with the Turks. Despite the fact that his reign marks the beginning of Catholic reaction, the Peace of Augsburg gave Germany measurable relief from the long-vexed question of religious rivalry, and only one conflict, a war with Transylvania besides some minor difficulties concerning the religious settlement, disturbed the peace of the peace-loving Emperor.

Philip II

1556-98

Had such a man, under such circumstances, become the ruler of the Netherlands, Europe might have been spared a bloody, if glorious, chapter of her history. But such was not the case. If the period of the Council of Trent is notable for the joining of religion and politics in European affairs, the two decades which followed are no less notable for the union of the colonial and economic elements with those of faith and national aspiration to bring about a more far-reaching conflict than Europe had yet experienced. And if the events of the preceding forty years had centered in the person of Charles V, those of the generation which followed his departure from the stage found their focus in his son, Philip II of Spain. No less by the situation in which he found himself than by his character and ambitions, he became the pivot of affairs; and from his activities and those of his opponents there flowed a series of events which showed how deeply the religious issue had penetrated politics, and how profoundly the new colonial-commercial elements were to be reckoned with in war and diplomacy.

His character and policy

The Spanish king was the peculiar product of his nation and his age. Pious, abstemious, kind in private life, incredibly industrious and strong-willed, Philip II was devoted to despotism and the church, to Spanish ascendancy and the faith of Rome, in a degree unknown to his shrewder and more cosmopolitan father. Lacking the chivalrous quality of his race, in him its crusading spirit took the form of an attempt to stamp out heresy by whatever means and win back Europe to the true belief. He brought to that great task a fierce intensity of purpose, every resource of a strong if narrow intellect, and the whole power of his royal authority. To it he subordinated every worldly interest, common humanity, and the well-being of the lands he ruled. And from the time when, as the husband of the English queen, Mary the Catholic, he urged on the efforts to bring England again under the domination of Rome, to the time when, old and feeble, he still carried on the futile contest with her sister, the Protestant Queen Elizabeth, in that great hopeless struggle to roll back the wave of Protestantism, he never faltered nor compromised.

It was inevitable that such a purpose and such a character, backed by the support of the most powerful nation in Europe, should breed a struggle marked, on Philip's side, by relentless cruelty, and on that of his opponents by the fury of despair. And this was the more important in that the Spanish king undertook his enterprise at the moment when England under Elizabeth espoused the cause of the Reformation, when his Dutch subjects in the Netherlands embraced Calvinism, and when France, after the death of Henry II, saw the Navarrese, Henry of Bourbon, become the hope of the Huguenots and a possible successor to the French throne.

Almost at once, therefore, events took form and direction

The Netherlands from Philip's character. The bloody persecution of Moors and Protestants in Spain by the Inquisition which marked 1559 the outset of his reign was followed by similar activities in the Netherlands. The withdrawal of their ancient privileges, the introduction of a Spanish garrison, the issue of edicts against heresy, and the threat of the Inquisition, with which Philip signalized the beginning of his sovereignty over the rich cities of the lower Rhine and Scheldt, roused the fierce resentment of its Calvinistic elements. In spite of the efforts of leaders like Egmont and Orange, the populace rose in revolt against the Catholic rulers, sacked the churches and 1567 broke the images. The regent, Margaret of Parma, was succeeded by the Duke of Alva, at the head of a powerful force, to restore order. With his coming there began a reign of terror and exactions which roused the people to frenzy, and a dozen years after Philip's accession he faced a rebellion of his richest provinces.

France While he thus "stirred up the hornets' nest of the Dutch Calvinists," France had entered on a period of religious strife such as Germany had already experienced. The problem was complicated by the issue of the succession. The 1558-9 death of Henry II in the same twelvemonth that Elizabeth assumed the English crown had brought to the throne the first of three weak brothers, Francis II, the husband of Mary, Queen of Scots. His death within a year left the boy-king, Charles IX, under the influence of his Italian mother, Catherine de Medici, and the fourteen years of his ill-fated reign became one of the darkest chapters in French history. Three parties contended for supremacy. The first was that of the crown directed by the Queen Mother, intent on upholding the authority of the house of Valois and maintaining its succession. The second was the ambitious family of Guise, bent on securing, if not the crown, at least the direction of affairs. The third was the Huguenot faction, which mingled with its political aspirations an adherence to the Calvinistic doctrines, so bitterly opposed by the other parties to the conflict. Bourbon and Guise each boasted a secondary title to the crown. But the house of Montmorency, headed by the Grand Constable—who, though himself a Catholic, had three Protestant nephews, among them the Grand Admiral Coligni, the leader of the Huguenots—while it cherished no designs upon the throne, played a part scarcely less important in this involved tragedy. And if there be added to these three elements that variable group known as the *Politiques,* with whom the Montmorencys were at times aligned, the confusion of French politics becomes all but hopeless. For this last faction, hating the Italians whom the Queen Mother introduced, and equally opposed to political Catholics and political Huguenots, remained the uncertain, perhaps the determining, factor in the French problem.

Hardly was the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis signed and **1559-60** France at peace with England and Spain, when the seizure of the government by the Guises in the first days of Francis II's brief reign began the struggle which for a full generation inflicted on France the horrors of a combined religious and civil war. Nine years of alternate failure and success of the contending factions saw three conflicts broken by uneasy peace. At the moment that Alva set up his Council of Blood in the Netherlands, the Treaty of Longjumeau wit- **1568** nessed that the efforts of the Guises to suppress Protestantism and the States General had proved as futile as the attempts of the Protestants to achieve full toleration, or those of the Queen Mother to achieve the supremacy of the crown over its rivals.

In those same years the advent of the Calvinist, John Knox, **Scotland** 1559-61 and the young widow of Francis II, Mary Queen of Scots, into her kingdom transferred the controversy between the new and old communions to that northern land. The Presbyterians rose in revolt against the efforts to make them conform. The queen's position was weakened by her ill-advised matrimonial adventures no less than by the policy of her advisers; and at the moment of the Peace of Longjumeau **1568** and the beginning of Alva's repressive policy, she was compelled to seek refuge in England. There, meanwhile, Elizabeth had slowly consolidated her authority. The Church of England had been finally established, peace made with

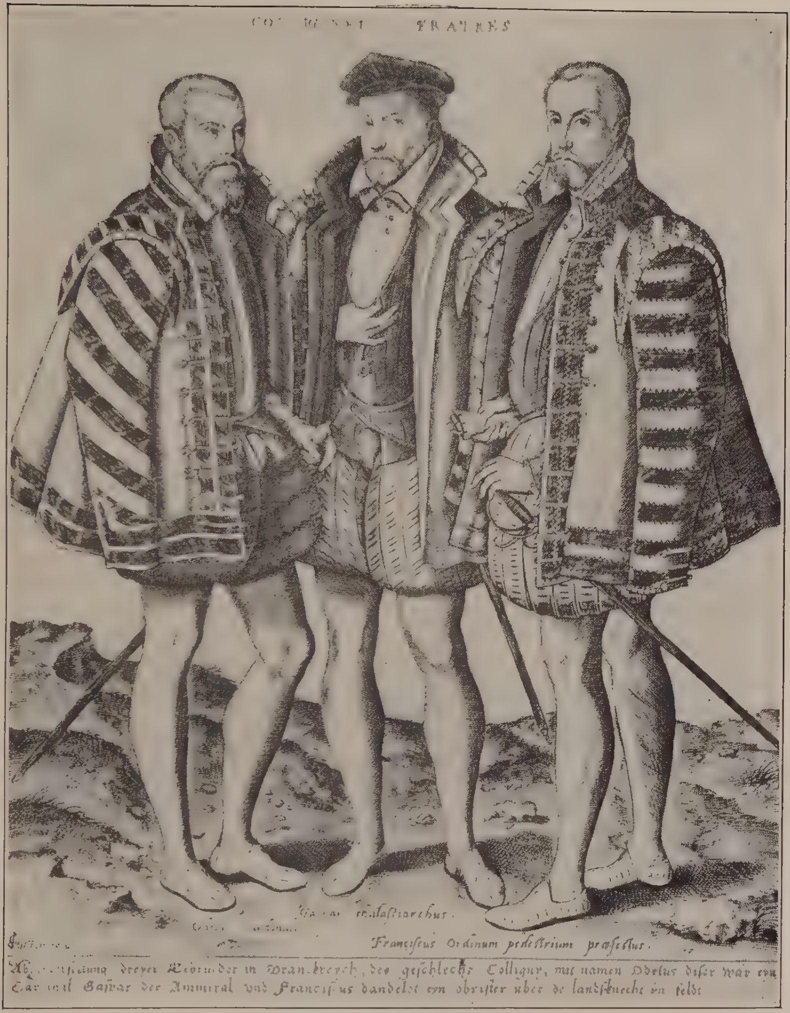
France, and only the king of Spain, whose suit for her hand had been rejected, whose religious convictions were outraged by England's conversion to Protestantism, and whose West Indian monopoly was continually infringed by Elizabeth's adventurous subjects, remained unreconciled to the Elizabethan settlement.

The year 1568

Thus the year 1568 marked a great turning-point in the world's affairs and from its events there flowed momentous consequences. In that year the execution of the Dutch leaders, Counts Egmont and Horn, embittered the quarrel between Philip II and his Low Country subjects beyond the possibility of compromise, while an engagement between the forces of William of Orange and those of Alva marked the beginning of the Revolt of the Netherlands. In that year the imprisonment of Mary Queen of Scots by the English government made possible the triumph of Presbyterianism in Scotland, while it widened the breach between Elizabeth and the Spanish king. In that year the Peace of Longjumeau, though it gave a breathing-space in the French civil wars, turned the thoughts of the Queen Mother to still darker designs whose culmination four years later made the quarrel irreconcilable. And in that year, far beyond the scenes of the oncoming struggle between the two communions, yet closely connected with it, the attacks of the French Huguenot, Dominique de Gourges, on Spanish settlements in Florida, and of the Englishman, John Hawkins, on Vera Cruz, at once extended the scope of the conflict and injected into it a new and, as it proved, a determining element.

The European conflict

Such was the situation which, at the close of the seventh decade of the sixteenth century, offered a fertile field for the peculiar talents and the far-reaching ambitions of the Spanish king, and in each of the disturbed nations his influence was speedily made manifest. From such events, as well, there sprang a fierce struggle which soon involved all western Europe and in no long time spread thence throughout the world. However its main features were obscured by masses of detail, it was at bottom a conflict between opposing schools of civilization rather than a mere religious struggle, or a


FRATRES
Gaſpar [illegible] Thalaſſiarchus.
Franciſcus Ordinum pedeſtrium præfectus.
Ab[illegible] dreyer Gebrüder in Frankreych, des geſchlechts Colligny, mit namen Odetus diſer war ein
Cardinal Gaſpar der Ammiral vnd Franciſcus dandelot ein obriſter über de landſknecht im feldt

THE BROTHERS COLIGNI.

After a drawing by J. Visscher. Compare the costume with that of Frans van der Borcht, p. 398.

contest for commercial supremacy, or a bid for pre-eminence within Europe itself.

On the one hand were arrayed the forces which represented the domination of royal, noble, and ecclesiastical authority, the institutions which had made the church, the crown, and the aristocracy supreme during the middle ages. Those forces rested on the devolution of power from above; made arms and diplomacy the chief concerns of government; and considered freedom of thought and speech, individual initiative, and popular opinion as secondary or negligible elements in public life. On the other side were forces best described as individual. Among these may be grouped such apparently dissimilar activities as commerce, invention, personal liberty of opinion in religion, popular share in government, and an intellectual habit more or less independent of precedent or authority. Each had the defects of the qualities which gave it strength—the tendency of the one to harden into formalism, of the other to degenerate into license; the worship of the past, and its disparagement. Which was to be the stronger was now to be determined; and on the decision hung the future of Europe, and, in some sort, that of the world.

France

Thus conditioned, there had already burst forth this holy war, half religious, half political, full of the highest devotion and the meanest self-seeking. In no small degree the four years which followed the breathing-space of 1568 marked the turning-point in that conflict, and gave it at once impetus and direction. In France the successive defeats of the Huguenots after the breach of the Treaty of Longjumeau and the murder of their general, Condé, seemed likely to prove their ruin. But under Coligni's able leadership they rallied, won back their liberties by the Treaty of St. Germain, and secured the possession of four cities of refuge, chief among them the stronghold of La Rochelle, which for half a century was to be the citadel of their party and their faith. But with this result neither the Queen Dowager, nor the Guises, nor Philip II were content, and the peace only began a new era of conspiracy. Two years later this culminated in a plan to crush the Protestants by wholesale murder, and on the fearful eve of St. Bartholomew, in August, 1572, began a massacre which within two days cost thirty thousand lives. Coligni was numbered among the victims, but the young king, Henry of Navarre, feigning conversion, escaped to oppose the ambitions of the Guises and the antagonism of the Catholic League through another decade of war and intrigue which brought him finally to the throne.

The Netherlands

Meanwhile the Netherlands had become the center of another great conflict. There the resistance of the Dutch nobles headed by William of Orange had been broken by Alva's veteran army, the princes of Nassau, with many of their adherents, had been driven into exile, and a reign of terror and oppression had ensued. But four months after St. Bartholomew there came a change. The leaders of the irreconcilable Dutch rebels, the so-called ''Water Beggars,'' who had been engaged, with English connivance, in preying on Spanish commerce, suddenly found England's ports closed against them, as a result of Spain's protests, which circumstances compelled Elizabeth to heed for the moment. As a retort they seized the town of Brill, and presently occupied Flushing and the adjacent ports. (1572) With this, revolt spread like wildfire. Lewis of Nassau hurried from his refuge among the Huguenots of La Rochelle to take possession of Valenciennes and Mons. His brother, William of Orange, advanced from his camp at Dillenburg with an army to attack Alva, and the Revolt of the Netherlands was an accomplished fact.

Eastern Europe 1568-

Such were the events which ushered in another stage of development in western Europe. They were not without their parallels in the East, nor were they unconnected with those distant lands. In the first year of this eventful decade the duchy of Prussia threw off its allegiance to the kings of Poland and became hereditary in the house of Hohenzollern. 1569 A twelvemonth later the Treaty of Lublin united Poland and Lithuania, and, with the extinction of the Jagellon 1574 dynasty, five years later, Henry of Valois was elected king. Meanwhile Russia experienced a fierce and, as it was to prove, a final attack from her ancient enemies, the Tartars. From their strongholds in the Crimea the wild horsemen of the steppes poured into Muscovy, devastated its lands and burned its capital, the holy city of Moscow. At almost the same moment the Turks, summoning to their aid the fleets of their feudatories, Alexandria and Algiers, rallied their forces for a great effort to control the Mediterranean. Against them Pius V formed a Holy League. Genoa, Venice, Naples, and the Papal States united their strength. Their fleet was intrusted to Philip's illegitimate brother, Don John of Austria, and, at Lepanto, the Moslem sea-power was broken in 1571 one of the great decisive naval conflicts of history. Meanwhile, Moorish revolt in Spain was repressed; and with these reverses the Asiatic powers which had so long threatened Europe were deprived of their capacity to injure Christendom at the same time that Europeans themselves plunged again into all but universal war.

England 1559- Beside this bloody chronicle the history of England, like that of Germany, in this eventful period, seems almost pastoral. Yet the position in which she found herself was growing difficult. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity which signalized Elizabeth's accession had confirmed the establishment of a Protestant church; and this, despite rebellions of the adherents of the old faith in England and Ireland and the disturbances in Scotland, had maintained itself against all opposition. But the Pope excommunicated the English queen. Philip II—whose offer of marriage had been rejected and whose efforts to support the Catholic reaction in the British Isles had been defeated—had intrigued against her power as he had interfered in the affairs of France. Finally when Mary Queen of Scots sought refuge from her rebellious Presbyterian subjects, and entered England as an 1568 unwilling and greatly undesired guest, she had at once become the focus of a series of plots, stimulated by the Jesuits and encouraged by the Spanish power.

Among these manifold dangers it had been imperative that the English queen and her advisers should walk warily until the royal authority was firmly established and the new dispensation secure. Yet it grew increasingly evident, despite her ruler's unwillingness to enter upon European rivalries, that England was bound to come to blows with Spain, and that her queen was likely to be forced into the position of a participant in continental affairs, which Henry V had in some sort occupied and to which Henry VIII had vainly aspired. It was scarcely less evident that this was largely because she represented, with the Netherlands, a new and powerful force in European polity, opposed at nearly every point to the principles and practices which found their chief expression in Spain.

Her character and policy

England had been the first of the national states to throw off feudal domination as she had been among the first to repudiate Papal supremacy. The civil wars of the preceding century had virtually destroyed the power of her baronage; while the decay of the economy of the mediæval period, then of its politics, and finally of its ecclesiastical system, had cleared the way for a social readjustment which had gone on rapidly after the accession of Henry VII. In place of the feudal baronage had risen a nobility, recruited from the gentry and even from the merchant classes as nowhere else in Europe, dependent on the crown and in turn depended on by the sovereigns. The English Parliament, almost alone of those representative bodies which had earlier held a place in European polity, retained its powers and safeguarded the popular interests. Containing, as it did, men of the counting-house as well as of the manor, questions of trade and economy played a part in its deliberation more conspicuous than in any other land save among the Dutch.

These activities were by no means confined to her own borders. An island nation, England had bred a race of seamen. Safe from the aggressions of continental powers, she had preserved the greater part of her popular liberties; while at the same time the commercial element which was chiefly responsible for these results had extended her influence far beyond the confines of the British Isles. And it was certain that such a people, enrolled against the Spanish power, would, like the Dutch rebels, carry their antagonism to the ocean from which they had been excluded by the concerns of pure politics until, as now, they were released by the new factor of political antagonism, religion. Scarcely had the Water Beggars seized the town of Brill, therefore, when Elizabeth, driven on no less by the doings of her subjects than by the activities of Philip's agents against her power and her life, broke off relations with Spain, made an alliance 1572 with France, and allowed volunteers to embark for Holland. With this it was evident that a new chapter had opened in the affairs of the whole European world.

The new European rivalry

Thus while from the new architectural wonder of the world, the palace of the Escorial, which Philip now began as the outward sign of Spain's greatness and his own, the Spanish king strove to direct European faith and policy, there was laid the foundations of a rivalry which was soon to replace the older antagonisms of the continent, and, spreading far beyond its confines, involve the fortunes of the extra-European world. It is an illuminating commentary on the spirit which inspired Spain and her opponents that the Spanish king's palace had for its ground-plain the gridiron on which St. Lawrence met a martyr's death; while at the same time the leading architect of the period, Palladio, and those who followed him, like the Englishman Inigo Jones and the French Perrault, who then dominated the taste of a great part of the continent, turned for their models not to the middle ages but to Greece and Rome. It was a symbol of a fundamenal hostility of ideals, which was emphasized in other and more directly practical fields. Chief of these was the alteration in the emphasis on the pursuits of life. Spain still remained largely the land of king, hidalgo and peasant, soldier and friar. But in England and the Netherlands, above all other European states, the soldier of fortune had given way to the merchant adventurer; royal or noble monopoly to private, municipal, or corporate enterprise; ecclesiastical to secular interests; while political rivalry continually revealed some touch of the commercial spirit, and found its highest expression on the sea.

Especially was this true of England, which, unlike the

Netherlands, had always been an independent power. Nowhere was this adventurous element more in evidence than there; and, whatever high reasons of state or conscience were involved, it was not on merely religious or political grounds that England found herself opposed to Spain. While Philip and Elizabeth, Mary of Scotland, and Catherine de Medici practised their arts of governance and wove their intricate webs of diplomacy, events and individuals far outside the bounds of formal diplomacy, as then practised, were busy determining which way those ancient "mysteries of state" should go. Spain was mistress of a great part of the colonial world, and when, six years after St. Bartholomew, the young 1578-80 king of Portugal, Sebastian, was killed on a crusade against the Arabs of northern Africa, Philip II inherited his dominions and became the sole ruler of all European possessions beyond the confines of the continent. The strength of the new powers which now began to challenge Spanish supremacy lay upon the sea. It thus became inevitable that the conflict which commenced with the assertion of Spain's right to dominate the faith and policy of a great part of the continent should, in no long time, be fused with the struggle which had already begun for oceanic mastery and the trade of the lands beyond.

Philip II and his opponents

Meanwhile France plunged again into the chaos of civil war after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and was in no small measure removed from any determining share in general European politics. Germany remained quiescent under the mild rule of Maximilian II, till his death brought the astrologer-emperor Rudolf to the throne. The principal interest of European affairs therefore shifted to the struggle between Philip and his rebellious subjects of the Netherlands and the oncoming antagonism between England and Spain.

Little by little the Dutch and Flemish rebels made head against the Spanish power in the years following the Water Beggars' exploit. Alva was succeeded by Requesens, whose brief administration was marked by an event only less appalling and even more important to Europe's development 1576 than the French tragedy. This was the so-called Spanish

THE ESCORIAL.

Fury, an outburst of ferocity by which the rich cities of Antwerp and Ghent, with Maestricht and lesser towns, were sacked by the Spanish soldiery, their inhabitants outraged, and their wealth and prosperity all but destroyed. From this blow the Flemish Netherlands scarcely recovered in a century. Good Catholics as they were, this was too much for their loyalty to Philip. Thousands of them sought refuge in the Dutch provinces; and almost at once the Flemish Netherlands joined in the Pacification of Ghent with their Dutch neighbors to drive the Spaniard from the land.

That circumstance, with the accession of the Prince of Orange to the leadership of affairs, decided the issue of the conflict. In quick succession the victor of Lepanto, Don John of Austria, and Alexander Farnese, the Duke of Parma, 1578 were sent to reduce the rebellious provinces. Against the dogged resistance of the people of the Netherlands and the genius of William of Orange, surnamed the Silent, neither was able to accomplish this result in its entirety. But Parma, subduing the southern districts, partly by force, partly by promises of restoring their older privileges, turned his arms against the Dutch. These, now deprived of all hope of reasonable compromise, took a momentous step. A year after Parma's arrival, while Philip II was engaged in those negotiations which made him the master of Portugal and her colonies, they proclaimed their independence of Spain by the Union of Utrecht. They chose William of Orange hereditary 1579 Stadtholder, and so added another state to the European polity, as they had already begun a new chapter in the history of liberty and introduced another hero to that history.

William of Orange

For in William of Orange the Dutch Netherlands had brought forth a champion worthy to set against all the power of the Spanish king. Son of the Count of Nassau, heir to the principality of Orange, his estates in Holland and Flanders had brought him into close association with Low Country affairs. Charles V had cemented that connection by appointing him commander-in-chief and Stadtholder of Holland, Utrecht, and Zeeland. From Henry II he had learned of Philip's design of crushing Protestantism in the

Netherlands; and, though himself a Catholic, he had embraced Protestantism and put himself at the head of the movement to save his adopted country from the catastrophe which menaced its faith and liberties. His genius, backed by the obstinate courage of the Dutch, made him the savior of the Netherlands, and from the moment of his accession to command to the moment of his death at the hand of an assassin employed by the Spanish king, he remained the principal champion of that spirit of civil and ecclesiastical liberty on which the ambitions of the Spanish and reactionary forces came to wreck.

Eastern Europe

In such fashion and in such hands was ushered in the great conflict of civilizations which distinguished the last quarter of the sixteenth century. It was not unconnected with the development of the continent elsewhere. While Holland and Spain thus made their quarrel irreconcilable, eastern Europe had taken another step in its progress. The death of Charles IX of France made Henry of Valois, sometime an unsuccessful suitor for the hand of the English queen, and more recently the elected king of Poland, heir to the French throne. He was not slow to take advantage of his opportunity to exchange the undesired throne of Poland-Lithuania for that of France, and his departure left the
1575 eastern kingdom to choose the heroic Stephen Bathory of Transylvania as its ruler. With his accession the advance of the Reformation toward the east came to an end. He encouraged the Jesuits, who had thrown themselves across the stream of Lutheran influence which had overrun Prussia and threatened the position of the old communion in Poland. At the same time he undertook a war which was to prove successful in checking the ambitions of Russia in the west, and, for the time, preserved the dual kingdom to its inhabitants and its ancient faith. Such were the circumstances which conditioned the borders of Europe in the decade which saw her rivalries spread to the farthest corners of the earth and made sea-power a determining factor in religious as in political affairs.

Spain

As a result of these events, which, however different among themselves, tended to the same end, twenty-two years after the abdication of Charles V, Spain stood forth as the champion of Catholicism and absolutism, confronted by the liberal, Protestant elements of all western Europe. The year in which Sebastian's death enabled Philip II to put in motion those intrigues which two years later gave Portugal into his hands, under different conditions might have marked the beginning of a development such as the world had never seen. But the Union of Utrecht, and the virtual alliance of England, France, and the Dutch rebels, set in her path, at the moment of her greatest opportunity, an enemy prepared to challenge not merely her material strength, but every principle on which her national life was based. 1578

Her enemies

In the bitter conflict, which had, indeed, already begun, between the old order and the new, Europe was to determine at once her own future and that of the new Europe beyond the sea. As a natural result of many forces developed in the preceding generations, for the most part outside the field of politics, that conflict was to take a wider range, and, what was more important still, to partake of a different character from those struggles which had preceded it. For in it were engaged communities and classes as yet relatively new in European polity, by which there had been developed factors all but unknown to the calculations of men bred in the old statecraft.

The merchant-adventurers

Among these the activities of English merchant-adventurers were, for the moment, the most conspicuous. This, in the changing circumstance of affairs was an inevitable development of the preceding generations. Any struggle which involved, as this was bound to do, sea-power, Protestantism, and commercial interests, by virtue of the progress of those elements among the people which, more than any other, had made them a chief concern of national existence in the years just gone, was bound to set their nation in the forefront of conflict.

Before the English queen had mounted the throne, adventurers had dreamed of finding a way to the secluded East by land across Muscovy or Asia Minor, or by sea through the Arctic, thus evading the Portuguese monopoly. Already, without royal aid and in the face of infinite discouragements, this popular movement, inspired by private enterprise, had begun to develop for itself new means for its achievement. Building upon the older forms of trading corporations, like the so-called Merchants of the Staple, and the commercial guild or fraternity of St. Thomas à Becket, they had evolved a form of organization, foreign to the genius of Spain and Portugal, but eminently adapted to the English temper. This was the chartered company, formed by the association of individual merchants for a common purpose of trade, and sanctioned, protected, and granted privileges or monopoly by the crown. To this they added some knowledge of the outside world. Apart from what they had drawn from their own experience, from voyages to Lisbon and Seville, to Africa and America, from agents sent to Spain and Portugal, from their own countrymen in foreign service, they had related themselves, even before the accession of Elizabeth, to the great current of discoveries by curious, even romantic, means.

The Company of Merchant Adventurers

While Edward VI was still upon the throne, the old Sebastian Cabot, long since the co-discoverer of Newfoundland, sometime map-maker and pilot-major to the King of Spain, and explorer of the La Plata region, returned from his long wanderings to his old home in Bristol, whence, fifty years before, he had set sail for North America. He came at a propitious moment, and his coming was at once an inspiration and an opportunity. About him crystallized long entertained projects. He was immediately enlisted in an "intended voyage to Cathay," and was created "governor of the mysterie and companie of Merchants adventurers for the discovery of Regions, Dominions, Islands and places unknown" in the long-dreamed-of East. Under such auspices no time was wasted in setting on foot an enterprise which was to open up new regions of the world. Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor were despatched to find a northeast passage to Asia; and, though Willoughby was lost, Chancellor made his way to the White Sea, thence overland to

1551

Moscow, where he was entertained by the Czar Ivan IV; and so began another chapter of European history.

The Muscovy Company Before he returned Edward VI had died, but Mary chartered a corporation known as the Muscovy Company. This became not merely the agent of a fresh burst of commercial activity, and the intermediary between England and the then semi-Asiatic power of Russia, but a model for later commercial organization. Under its auspices Anthony Jenkinson **1559-61** within two years made his way from the English factory near Archangel across Russia to Astrakhan and thence to Khiva and Bokhara. From that far journey he returned to fire his countrymen to compete with Hanseatic and Italian merchants in that field. Four years thereafter he secured from Ivan IV monopoly of the White Sea trade for his company, and with the despatch of an agent to Persia prepared to challenge the way to India. Under such auspices, at the accession of Elizabeth, England made ready to take her part in the exploiting of the East.

Russian expansion While her agents were thus engaged in bridging the gap which separated her from that region, the power with which she was now first brought into contact had taken up the task of pushing European boundaries toward the East. The year before Chancellor's first visit to the Czar, the Muscovites had **1552** subdued the Tartar principality of Kasan. Before Jenkinson's coming the province of Astrakhan had been annexed. And in the year of Elizabeth's accession the Russians began **1558** a fresh advance. Upon the great commercial house of Strogonoff the Czar conferred some ninety miles of land along the Kama River, in the Ural district, with mining, settlement, and trading rights. To conquer that wild region the Strogonoffs enlisted a body of Don Cossacks, so-called "Good Companions," under a certain Yermak Timofeévitch. What Cortez and Pizarro had been to the New World, this leader became to northern Asia. From the original grant, aided by Vasili Strogonoff and his followers, Yermak conquered as far as the Tobol within a dozen years. His un- **1570** timely death scarcely checked the Muscovite advance. While western Europe was convulsed with war, Russia pushed on, till, thirty years after her entry into Siberia, her power was well on the way to the Pacific. The city of Tobolsk had 1587 been founded to secure her frontier, and the trade route to Bokhara opened up. Thenceforth, as England and presently Holland, took steps to find their way to the close-guarded East, Russia marched with steady pace across the plains of northern Asia to meet them on the other side of the world.

England and Russia, whose fortunes were thus early joined in the great work of territorial and commercial expansion, found rivals in their efforts to extend their influence beyond their own borders and those of Europe. From a far different quarter and in far different hands there had been inaugurated a movement in whose conception lay the germs of what was to be the most important feature of the next stage of European progress beyond the sea; and, as it proved, the chief link in that lengthening chain of circumstance which was binding the religious and colonial impulses into a new form of polity.

Coligni and French colonization

These centered in the activities of Gaspard de Coligni, Grand Admiral of France and head of the Huguenot party in that vexed nation. As in the case of the English adventurers, the French invasion of the colonial world was no new enterprise. Apart from the exploits of Verrazano and Cartier, the French had long made efforts to gain a foothold in America. Strive as she would, Portugal had never been able to prevent their presence in Brazil. Their rulers had long desired a foothold in that quarter of the world; their ships had long been visiting its ports; Rio de Janeiro had become almost a French outpost; and no small amount of the attention which Portugal had directed to her imperial colony had been due to the fear that it might pass to other 1555-6 hands. Now in the same twelvemonth of the Peace of Augsburg and Charles V's abdication, a tragic incident gave these activities a new importance. A certain Frenchman, Nicholas Durand de Villegagnon, who had gained the French king's favor and the confidence of Coligni, secured from the one a concession for a settlement and from the other assistance in enlisting Protestant colonists for his enterprise. Thus equipped, he sailed to establish a post at Rio Janeiro. The experiment was short-lived. Villegagnon fell out with his companions; his followers were betrayed; and their post was destroyed by the offended Portuguese.

Failure in Brazil

But its work was done. Despite its tragic failure the idea which it contained bore fruit: for in Coligni's mind there was developed the plan of finding homes beyond the sea for his persecuted co-religionists. The idea never left him. He tried and tried again to put it into force; and though he failed, he has the distinction of being the first European statesman to formulate a policy which, in other hands and later generations, was to become a leading factor in the Europeanizing of the world.

Ribault

His second attempt was made under like auspices. For years the Huguenots or those who made their Protestant professions a cloak for piracy, had harried Spanish commerce relentlessly, especially in the Caribbean. They plundered and burned Havana; ravaged Porto Rico; terrorized the mainland about Cartagena; and harassed the West Indian trade in retaliation for Philip's interference in their affairs at home. Two years after Villegagnon's colony was destroyed they took another step. One Jean Ribault, of **1562** Dieppe, given command of a new enterprise, enlisted some young Huguenot nobility and some veteran soldiers, and made his way to Florida. There, passing the St. John's River, they went northward to Port Royal, where they set up a colony called Charlestown, in a region christened Carolina in honor of the French king. The dissatisfied colonists soon mutinied, killed their leader, and returned to France. Still Coligni, who had assisted the enterprise, was not disheartened, and when the Peace of Amboise gave a moment of quiet in the civil war, he despatched another party under René Laudonnière on the same errand. Founding a settle- **1564** ment on the St. John's, they embarked on expeditions against the Spaniards and the natives till the arrival of Ribault with reinforcements gave the new colony fresh life and character which under more favorable circumstances might have insured ultimate success.

But the Spaniards were infuriated by their losses and invasion of their monopoly. Menendez de Avila, created governor of Florida by Philip, prepared an expedition, hurried
1565 to the French settlement, drove off Ribault's squadron, surprised the fort, butchered its garrison with the French sailors who escaped from the wreck of the fleet, and rechristened the post San Mateo. Three years thereafter a Gascon soldier, Dominique de Gourges, sometime a captive Spanish galley-slave, equipped three ships at his own cost, reached Florida,
1568 stormed and destroyed the Spanish fort, hanged his prisoners, and so avenged his country and his faith. The French government, indeed, disavowed his act and relinquished all claims to Florida, which the Spaniards took immediate steps
1572 to colonize. Four years thereafter the Massacre of St. Bartholomew put an end to the great Coligni's life and plans, but despite the failure of his experiments, the attempt to settle Florida for the first time transferred to the new world the great religious conflict which was then about to convulse the continent. Insignificant as were the results of his activities in North and South America, they ushered in another phase of history.

Hawkins and English trade in America

With all the angry fear roused by the French Huguenot attempts to settle in Florida and Carolina, however, it was not from France that Spain had most to fear. She had more deadly enemies in the English and the Dutch; and even while she was engaged in driving out French colonists the English had begun their invasion of her monopoly in other quarters and by other means. If the story of England's eastward expansion is that of her commercial companies, the tale of her entry into the western world is that of her privateers. Her adventurous merchants, who had long since found profits in the African and American trade, had early discovered that "negroes were good merchandise in Hispaniola and that they might easily be had upon the Guinea coast." It was a simple discovery of wide consequence. Five years after Elizabeth came to the throne, while Coligni was planting his Huguenot settlements, one John Hawkins of Plymouth, 1563 following in his father's wake as a trader to Africa and America, made a rich voyage to Sierra Leone. In that region he got some slaves, "partly by the sword, partly by other means," including the plunder of the Portuguese; and took them to Hispaniola, getting in exchange enough to freight his own three ships and two others, which he had the temerity to send to Spain. There they were seized as contraband, but, even so, his profits were so great that lords about the court helped to finance a second venture, for which the admiralty loaned a ship. But the Spanish authorities were aroused; only the threat of arms opened the colonists' ports to him; and when, daring too greatly, he embarked upon a third and even more warlike voyage, his little fleet was crushed at Vera Cruz. 1567 Spain, enraged at this defiant violation of her monopoly and an attack upon her treasure-fleet which was driven by storm into Plymouth harbor, was deterred from war only by her entanglements and by England's adroit and none too scrupulous diplomacy.

The sovereignty of the sea

Such were the circumstances in the extra-European world that accompanied the events which in Europe itself led up to and flamed from the Revolt of the Netherlands and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. They were not only of commercial and military importance. They involved not merely the principle of a *mare liberum* for which the Protestant powers stood, as against that of the *mare clausum* on which Spanish and Portuguese expansion had been based. They were, in part, founded on

"The good old rule, the simple plan
That he shall take who has the power
And he shall keep who can."

Yet they differed from the earlier European conflicts in at least one important particular. They were far from being the result of the rivalries of princes, for the English queen, at least, was forced by popular sentiment and activity along the path which led to war, largely in her own despite. "Your mariners," declared the Spanish envoys to Queen Elizabeth, "rob my master's subjects on the seas; trade where they are forbidden to go; plunder our people in the streets of your own towns; attack our vessels in your harbors; take our prisoners from them; your preachers insult my master from their pulpits;—and when we apply for justice we are met with threats.'' In those words lay the root of the whole matter. The old faith and the new; the champions of monopoly and those who demanded a share in the trade of the world stood face to face. The Revolt of the Netherlands and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the unbending determination of Philip and the activities of the English privateers had made compromise impossible. The conflict begun in Europe had spread to the remotest corners of the earth. The Atlantic, and presently the Pacific, were troubled by the strange keels of the northern adventurers; and places whose very names were as yet all but unknown to Europe generally were to become the scene of conflicts no less important than Agincourt or Pavia. From the events of the oncoming years were soon to spring not only new European societies but a new balance of power and a new basis of civilization. For, with the exploits of Dutch rebels, English privateers and Huguenot colonists, the issues of politics, religion, and colonial expansion joined to produce a new and world-wide European polity.

The Protestant war with Spain

CHAPTER XIII

THE CONDITIONS OF CONFLICT. 1578-1588

The period in which the Protestant maritime peoples embarked upon their great adventure against the Spanish-Portuguese empire in the last quarter of the sixteenth century was peculiarly propitious for such a task as that they set themselves; for, however desperate their attack seemed at first sight, they possessed two great advantages in such a conflict. The one was the situation of Philip's far-flung empire; the other was the condition of naval affairs and knowledge. The first was the more conscious stimulus. The wealth of the Hispano-Portuguese possessions was only too evident; and it offered prospects of plunder great enough to tempt a sterner virtue than that which filled the breasts of English, Dutch, and Huguenot privateers, even had their ambitions not been sharpened by those religious antagonisms which gave to their attack something of the form and spirit of a crusade.

Portugal and her colonies 1580-88

The Portugal which Philip had now acquired was far from being the poor and divided state for which his ancestors had fought two centuries before. Her trading stations reached the farthest ports and islands of the East; her African possessions not merely secured the way to Asia, but drew to themselves the gold and ivory and forest products of the interior and an unlimited supply of slaves for her own use and that of the American colonies. From her Atlantic islands and Brazil came the greater part of the world's sugar, with dye-stuffs, precious stones, and gold. Her fisheries retained their ancient value; and her cities flourished. Lisbon's warehouses held the treasures of the East, spices and silks, gems, medicines, rare woods, the products of the precious metal-workers' art, the weavers' triumphs in fine fabrics, till their expanding bulk taxed the resources of the state to handle them. Its population had trebled in half a century, and its hundred thousand inhabitants ranked it among the leading cities of the continent, while with its harbor crowded with ships of every nation, this mistress of the eastern trade levied toll on every European state which used the goods of Africa, Asia, and America. Ten thousand slaves a year poured through her gates to till the fields of Portugal, and thousands more were sent across the sea. Apart from the inestimable gain in private hands, Lisbon's port dues alone paid the crown three million dollars annually, the profits of the royal monopolies as much more; besides tribute and presents from subject and allied powers. Under the wise administration of her greatest governor of Brazil and the salutary neglect of the home government, that imperial possession had been strengthened not only by the growth of northern settlements but by a post at Rio Janeiro to control the south. With Jesuit aid and the cessation of slave raids the natives had been conciliated; while the increasing stream of African negroes made the fortune of a colony whose population, at de Sousa's death, numbered no less than sixty thousand souls.

—her strength

Such was the wealth of the empire which fell without a blow into Philip II's hands; and it would have seemed that such resources, added to his own, would have enabled him to become the master of the world. Yet never were appearances more deceptive in any national economy than in that of Portugal. Despite the growth of cities and the influx of slaves her population had increased little if at all. With the expulsion of the Moors and Jews, the steady drain of men to fill the eastern ports and recruit the colonies, the recurrent epidemics increased by her close contact with Asia, and her losses by war and shipwreck, it is a question whether she was as populous as a century before. Nor was her loss confined to undesirables. Noble youths, pursuing fame and fortune, peasants driven out by competition with slave labor, middle classes fleeing from high prices produced by the influx of wealth in which they had small share, swelled the emigra-

—her weakness

tion till the nation found itself only exchanging free men for slaves.

Finance

With this was bound up problems of finance. The exodus of freemen reduced tax receipts, as the extraordinary demands of war and ostentatious foreign policy, joined to the extravagance inspired by Eastern wealth and methods, increased the state's expense. The public debt had grown till royal paper was worth but half its face value; and the national insolvency which ensued was not liquidated even by the enormous profits of the trade. Of its millions, the garrisons absorbed a third, administration and the fleets took all the rest, and more. Goa's port dues were worth a hundred thousand dollars a year; those of Ormuz half as much again; the rest in like proportion. Each voyage to the Moluccas was worth thirty thousand dollars; those to Japan or China four times that sum. Sofala alone produced each year, according to report, five million dollars' worth of trade; in days when money had a purchasing power some thirty-fold as great as now. But if crown profits were so great, those of colonial officials were greater still. Governors of larger ports, whose salaries ranged from fifteen hundred dollars to thrice that sum, accumulated fortunes in a three-year term. The government seemed powerless to prevent corruption and extravagance at home, much less abroad; the viceroys who strove to check it gained only the fatal hatred of the official class; and India, as the exiled poet, Camöens, wrote, became the mother of villains and the stepmother of honest men.

1580-1640

In the face of such wealth and weakness it was questionable whether the Portuguese empire was an asset or a liability to Spain; but there was no question but that the "Sixty Years' Captivity," as the Spanish period came to be called, was wholly disastrous to Portugal. The council of state was transferred to Madrid, the council of finance was divided to control the separate elements of the dual empire, but Portuguese hatred of Spanish rule more than neutralized every effort at reform. Dutch sailors were introduced, but pilotage degenerated so that in thirty years scarcely more than five ships a year survived the voyage to India. The formidable artillery decayed, the army declined in numbers and discipline. And though the colonists of the islands and Brazil, left for the most part to their own devices, were able to protect themselves against native encroachment or the privateers that fell upon the rich and feeble prize, when northern seamen finally made their way to Asia they found an easy prey,—for Portuguese imperial power was already on the wane.

Spain and her colonies 1580-88

But this was not the whole story of Philip's empire in these decades which saw the absorption of Portugal into Spain and it's consequent decay. While she had proved herself incapable of assimilating and reorganizing her new heritage, Spain had given her own empire new form and strength; and in the generation which followed Philip's accession extended and reorganized her possessions. While Coligni set on foot his second colonizing enterprise, a Spanish adventurer, Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, following the example of Villalobos, sailed from Mexico and established her power in the Philippines. From the capital, first at San Miguel in Cebu, then at Manila in Luzon, conquest began, though on a smaller scale and by milder means than in America. With the advent of the religious orders, especially the Augustinians, success was assured. Trade sprang up with Mexico; and, as the direct passage was given up for the great circle along the shores of Asia and America, a yearly galleon crept back and forth between Manila and Acapulco in New Spain, linking this most distant of Spain's possessions with those fleets which annually plied between Cadiz and Vera Cruz. The years in which the conquest of the Philippines was projected and carried out were marked by two other extensions of Spain's empire. The first was d'Avila's settlement of St. Augustine in Florida, the earliest permanent center of Spanish power in eastern North America; the second was the foundation of the town and province of Tucuman, in the vast fertile plains of the upper Parana, long since explored and settled by Spanish adventurers.

Spanish expansion—the Philippines 1564-5

1585

With these began another chapter of European advance in the New World. The most populous district of the interior, farther south, had already been seized by pioneers from Santiago de Estero. From Asunción, which had been settled nearly thirty years before, Juan de Garay founded the post of Santa Fé at the confluence of the Paraguay and Parana, while at the same moment Cordoba had been founded farther west. Thence he established a permanent post at Buenos Ayres near the La Plata mouth, on the site of an earlier settlement; and so gave to the great grazing and plantation baronies of the interior an Atlantic port accessible to Spain. Nor was this all. While the eastern slopes of the Andes and the plains of the Argentine were thus transformed into European dependencies, whose grains and vines, cattle and horses offered unlimited possibilities of wealth, far to the north the men of New Spain spread in like manner through the southern spurs of the Rocky Mountains. There in later years the town of Santa Fé was established as the outpost and capital of that vast and little known region christened New Andalusia. Meanwhile, the cities at the center of Spanish Caribbean power, Cartagena, Nombre de Dios, Porto Bello, and Vera Cruz flourished in like measure with Lima and Mexico. Finally, the conquest of Venezuela, where Valencia and Caracas had been founded to hold the interior, was confirmed by the post of La Guayra, through whose port poured a fresh stream of trade between Spain and the Venezuelan hinterland. Thus in the days when Philip aspired to direct the destinies of Europe, and Portuguese empire decayed, the wide-spreading movement by which his colonial pioneers and administrators secured the empire which Charles V's captains had won, opened new opportunities to European resources and influence.

—America

c. 1580

1588

Under the circumstances, it was imperative that this vast inchoate mass of lands and peoples which had developed so rapidly in the generation just past should be provided with a system of political and economic organization more suited to its changing form and needs than the simple viceroyalties which had sufficed for the period of the conquests, and the haphazard voyages which had carried its first plunder to the mother country. The Spanish empire was accordingly split

The division of Spanish America 1560-88

into two great parts, New Spain including Mexico, Central America, Venezuela, the islands, and the Philippines; and Peru, which comprised Spanish South America. Each of these grand divisions was again divided into lesser governments; New Spain into four *audiencias,* Mexico, Española—which included the islands and Venezuela—the northern district of New Galicia, and the southern province of Guatemala; Peru into five *audiencias,* Lima for Peru proper and Chili, Las Charcas for the central Andes, Quito for the north, New Granada for the northwest, and Panama for the isthmus. Each of these in turn were subdivided into governorships, of which New Spain counted seventeen or eighteen and Peru ten. Each of the great divisions was ruled by a viceroy, appointed for three years, assisted by his *audiencia,* or court and council, his *tribunal de los cuentos* for finance, his *junta de gobierno,* or administrative body, and his *junta de guerra* for military affairs. Such were the divisions of the western world destined to endure for nearly two centuries and to become, in large measure, the bases for the modern states which occupy that area.

The organization of trade

No less important were the measures taken to safeguard and restrict the course of this richest of commerce from the "fountain and well-head" of the wealth of Spain, for its ship-loads of bullion early roused the cupidity of privateers in a day when no international law restrained their activities, and there was "no peace beyond the line." Not merely did each port contain a *casa de contratacion* in miniature, but a complete system of transport was devised to handle and protect the valuable cargoes to and especially from America. Six years after Philip II came to the throne it took its final form. Once a year a great fleet set sail, usually in January, from Seville, Cadiz, and San Lucar, for the New World, convoyed by ships of war. One part, "the fleet," so-called, was destined for Vera Cruz, the port for Mexico, and the Philippines; the other, or "galleons," for Cartagena and Porto Bello, the *entrepôts* for South America. Sailing together, this fleet of half a hundred ships made its way by the Canaries and the West Indies to Dominica, where it

1562

divided for the trading ports. To those ports, meanwhile, pack trains and ships had gathered up from the greater part of Spanish America, its goods, its gold and silver, and its precious stones, as the treasures of the Philippines had found their way by the annual ship to Acapulco and thence by pack train to Vera Cruz.

The *flota*, galleons and fairs

The galleons reached Cartegena usually in April and waited there till news came of the arrival of the Peruvian treasure fleet at Panama. On that they proceeded to Porto Bello, where was held a forty days' fair, at which goods were exchanged at prices fixed by agents from each side. The cargoes disembarked, the ships reloaded and departed from the fever-ridden spot, to join the fleet which meanwhile had pursued a like course at Vera Cruz. Uniting at Havana, the vessels made their way home by routes fixed secretly for them in advance and changed from year to year to avoid piratical attack. Thus was determined for a century and a half the greatest single trading operation of the world. It was but slowly extended to the other parts of Spanish America. For many years direct trade even with Buenos Ayres was prohibited, and when it was finally established, so rigid was the Spanish system, it was restricted, like that of the Philippines, to a single ship a year, the value of whose cargo was itself prescribed!

It was not enough, in Spanish eyes, to limit colonial trade to a few ports and to a single fleet. For the most part, all business was confined to a few trading houses of Seville, Lima, and Mexico, which were soon formed into close corporations, prototypes of those great companies which, in other hands and under different conditions, were soon to form the aggressive force of rival powers. However well it might have been adapted to the earlier stages of a rude commerce, or the perpetuation of a profitable monopoly to a few favored interests, this system worked a hardship to both sides, as Spanish imperial power grew with the advance of its subjects oversea. "Supplying a great kingdom like the provisioning of a blockaded fortress," however necessary it appeared to a government concerned almost entirely with the products of the mines, not merely lent no strength to the empire, it became an element of actual weakness. For it divided imperial interests from those of Spain; and concentrated wealth into convenient form for piracy.

Such was the position of the extra-European world at the moment when its master, Philip II, planned the extinction of Dutch Protestant faith and liberties; and, in conjunction with French and English Catholics, Guise, Valois, and Mary Stuart, dreamed of extirpating heresy and bringing England, no less than Holland, back to its ancient faith. Such was the situation which, on the other hand, inspired the seafaring elements of the threatened communions to their attempts on Spanish commerce east and west, and their designs to find a way to the great trade preserve of Asia.

It was not merely the decline of Portugal's sea-power and the relative inferiority of Spanish seamanship which gave them an advantage in the conflict which then began. Chief among the many influences which brought the northern powers to an equality with Spain and Portugal was the development of scientific knowledge. That had enormously advanced in those years which saw a great part of Europe engaged in violent discussions over the doctrines of salvation by faith or works; the necessity or efficacy of the sacraments; the insoluble mystery of whether the bread and wine of the sacrament was Christ's flesh and blood—transubstantiation, so-called; episcopal and congregational or presbyterian church government; free-will and predestination; and Papal authority as against the divine right of kings or individuals.

The extension of geographical knowledge

In particular, the preceding fifty years had freed men in no small degree from that dependence on experience, whereby the earlier navigators, like pilots on an ever-changing stream, had in large measure steered their course. The impetus to astronomy, cosmography, navigation, and the mathematics on which all these sciences depended, begun by the discoveries of the fifteenth century and reinforced by every advance of explorer and scholar, had found a powerful ally in the improved processes of printing and engraving which accompanied and stimulated the advance of knowledge. As the material for study increased with widening areas of European activity, it was gradually made available in charts, geographies, and atlases. The time had passed when the precious secrets, long jealously guarded by Spanish and Portuguese authorities, were wholly confined to them. With the employment of foreigners in their service, with the issue of necessary manuals, no less than by the voyages which interlopers undertook, that knowledge filtered through to other hands, till, by the time that Philip had made the whole colonial world his own, there were many besides his subjects who knew more of the seaways east and west than was agreeable to his monopoly.

Mathematics and cartography

Meanwhile, that practical knowledge had been powerfully reinforced from a far different quarter. If the Iberian peoples had led the way in conquest and discovery, the Teutonic races had contributed scarcely less in other fields to man's capacity for comprehending and exploiting the world in which he lived. From the revised system of Ptolemy a fresh stream of mathematics, geography, and astronomy, which had flowed long since from Alexandria to Arabia and India, came through Arab channels back into European minds, greatly enlarged and purified. German scientists in the preceding century had revived mathematics and placed it at the service of their fellow-men; and here no single subject was of greater importance than the reinvigorated science of trigonometry, so indispensable to seafarer and cartographer.

This, in the hands of Purbach, Walther, and Regiomontanus, developed and soon found its way to print. Applied to map-making, with towns for central points, it revolutionized the art of cartography. To it Copernicus addressed his genius, and none of his contributions to human knowledge, not even his hypothesis of the solar system, was of more immediate service to mankind than this. For he applied the principles of this reviving science to curved surfaces; and to him is ascribed the first simple formula of spherical trigonometry.

With him began a new age of geography as well as of astronomy, and for the moment the former was of the greater significance. For centuries, and more especially since the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, men had endeavored to picture the world graphically yet accurately. So long as the earth was believed to be flat and but little of it was known, this was not difficult. But it is not easy to depict all sides of a globe on a plane surface, and the ingenuity of map-makers was exhausted on the problem, with small success for fifty years. Now these attempts to improve the old cumbrous methods were crowned by the invention of Gerhard Kramer, better known as Mercator, sometime cartographer to Charles V, who published a world-map drawn on a cylindrical projection with lines of latitude parallel to the equator, and lines of longitude at right angles to these. This now familiar principle revolutionized cartography, displaced other systems, and from his time to our own has remained the model for navigation charts and maps in general. Copernicus' great work appeared as the Council of Trent gathered to its labors, Mercator's chart was coincident with the third Huguenot rising in France, and the union of the mother country, Poland, with Lithuania. Modest as their achievements seemed beside the earth-compelling conflict of Protestant and Catholic and the adjustment of European states, not even these yielded in results to the all but unheralded contributions of these obscure Polish and Flemish scientists.

Mercator 1512-94

1543

1569

They were but the principal figures in a great movement. Already manuals of navigation based on the new mathematics had appeared in print; the value of rhumb lines and the advantages of sailing on the great circle were recognized; and while western Europe was convulsed with the conflict between Spain and her enemies, one French scientist, Coignet, observed the obliquity of the ecliptic, and another, Norman, noted the dip of the magnetic needle. With such discoveries the way was prepared for a more accurate and scientific knowledge of the world and the ways to its most remote regions. These were added to the armory of Spain's enemies, since it was rather to those who had the lesser knowledge of the seaways east and west than to those who had long been familiar with those ways, that this was of advantage.

Ship-building

Meanwhile, the co-workers of the scientists, the shipwrights, had not been idle. While the appliances of navigation had scarcely kept pace with the new knowledge, while astrolabe, cross-staff, and rude quadrants remained the principal devices for observing stars, and the defects of the chronometers left no means of measuring time at sea with any accuracy, ship-building had advanced. In Spain and Portugal, indeed, such changes as took place had been conditioned by the demands of commerce rather than of war. New types appeared, like the carrack and galleon, but, in the main, the tendencies were toward mere floating warehouses or fortresses. The famous caravels had been enlarged and strengthened; their upper works or "castles" had risen higher to hold more men and goods; port-holes for cannon had been introduced, and movable topsails; till the three-masters, with their high bows and stern, low waist, bowsprits, square-rigged main and mizzen sails, took on a new appearance, without much change in sailing or handling qualities.

While Spain and Portugal had been content merely to modify the older types of vessels, the northern ship-builders had evolved new models and new qualities; nor was the reason far to seek. The privateers for whom they built demanded great seaworthiness, ease of handling, fighting qualities and speed, since on these depended not merely their owners' living but their lives. Thus the French, and presently English and Dutch, began to launch a different kind of ship. Its keel was longer in proportion to its beam, its poop and forecastle lower in comparison with the waist, its greater draught and less freeboard making for increased stability and so for more accurate gunnery. To these were added more easily managed sails, longer cables, and improved capstans, for safety and quick handling. Of other forms, like those propelled with oars, which still found favor in the smoother waters of the Mediterranean, the men who had to meet the great Atlantic swells took little account, as from the Huguenot ports of France, from Rhine mouth and Zuyder Zee, and from the English harbors, they pushed out in yearly increasing numbers, better manned and armed, better found and handled if not better fought, to spoil the Spaniard and the Catholic.

The antagonists

Thus, in the struggle for oceanic mastery were matched two types of ship, and no less two types of men: the Spaniard, who like the Roman forced himself to be a sailor and transferred as far as possible land tactics to the sea, and those traders and fishermen to whom for centuries water had been their other element. To this conflict science made one final contribution. Apart from the increase in the size and efficiency of cannon, the researches and experiments of men like Tartaglia regarding projectiles and quadrants for gunners' use now revolutionized the art of gunnery. And these, no less than the improvements introduced by their shipwrights, were seized upon by the antagonists. Thus in such curious wise there were combined religion, politics, and trade, science and ship-building, in the conflict with which the second stage of modern European history begins.

Achievements such as these, indeed, appealed but little to those outside the ranks of seafarers or scientists, and it is not probable that European rulers and statesmen in general recognized the altering circumstances of the world in which they lived—so blind have been those in the seats of the mighty to the most important influences beyond their narrow range of vision. Not until those forces proved their strength in action or thought, and so compelled attention from those whose minds moved in that unreal realm of the so-called high politics—and not always even then—were they reckoned a part of the world's affairs. Yet, as events were soon to prove, these humbler factors were the deciding element in a conflict upon which hung the fate of nations and beliefs.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ARMADA. 1575-1588

Spain, France, and the Empire

THE changes in the tastes, habits, and opinions of the European peoples during the sixteenth century, which caused or accompanied their division into rival camps, had, by the beginning of the last quarter of that century, compelled even the most hesitant of powers to take sides in the struggle of civilizations, which filled that period, either from religious conviction or economic and political interest. From the first Spain's choice was certain. She was removed from the influences then permeating the greater part of Europe, no less by faith than by inclination, by the conservatism of a society whose fortune was already made and whose habits were already formed, and by the character of the sovereign who directed her affairs. In like measure the Netherlands, whose only hope of life lay in resistance to the Spanish power, found but one course open. France and the Empire were in a different case. Each faction in France felt the same necessity for preserving its position and its faith, and the nation, in consequence, was rent with civil war which prevented it from taking full share in the coming conflict. The Emperor, relieved from the fear of the Turk, only to find his authority defied by a revival of internal dissension between rival rulers and faiths in his dominions, was scarcely less removed from active participation in general European politics. But in so far as its situation permitted, each party in each state contributed as best it might to the far-spreading conflict then about to burst upon the European world.

England

The situation of England was in many respects peculiar. The efforts of the Catholic party to overthrow Elizabeth and the Protestant establishment were, it is true, doomed to failure. But Mary Queen of Scots was still alive and remained the focus of those elements which had not yet given up the hope of successful revolution. The government was therefore cautious to a fault, and still temporized. But it was far different with the majority of the people. The voyages of Hawkins, which had crowned the age of contraband exploits, inaugurated a period of all but open war. The revolts of the Huguenots and the Dutch enlisted English sympathy. The prospect of Spanish plunder inspired every sentiment of greed; and the progress of the Counter-Reformation, reinforced by the fears which the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the revival of the Inquisition inspired, determined the event. No less for self-preservation than for reasons of conscience, the greater glory of God, and the enrichment of England, the active defense of Protestants was forced upon her, and the exploits of her privateers confirmed her policy. Thus while every popular and political instinct impelled them to fight Spain, in spirit not unlike the Spanish and Portuguese attack on Asia and America, in methods differing only with the times and the position of their enemies, the English pressed to the conflict.

Drake Its earliest exploit gave character to the war and a new hero to the English race. Three years after Hawkins' third voyage, his companion and kinsman, Francis Drake, sometime in trade with Guinea and the Spanish Main, ventured a fresh attack. With two small vessels and some eighty men
1572 he sailed from Plymouth for Nombre de Dios, that "golden granary of the West Indies wherein was hoarded up the golden harvest from Peru and Mexico." Joined at the Isle of Pines by another English bark with thirty men, his little force made Nombre de Dios, stormed the town and reached its strong-room, "the Treasure of the World," only to be balked by their leader's wound, which caused his disheartened men to retreat to their ships. Recovering from his injury, the daring adventurer proceeded to Cartagena. There he cut out a Spanish galleon from under the guns of the fortress, burned Porto Bello, crossed the Isthmus with only eighteen men, sacked Vera Cruz, plundered three caravans, and so,

after incredible adventures, brought home his little company, rich men. Such was the great exploit which ushered in the conflict between England and Spain and stirred English seamen to that far-reaching enterprise.

Four years later Drake sailed again with five ships, made land at La Plata, followed Magellan's track through the Straits, and with a single vessel of four hundred tons, the *Golden Hind*, found his way to Valparaiso, thence to Callao, 1577 plundering as he went. He took a rich galleon, the *Cacafuego*, with a cargo worth a million dollars; sailed northward to the Golden Gate, and from there some seventy days through the "main ocean" to the Philippines. Thence he proceeded to Ternate and the Celebes, Batjan, and Java. From the latter he made a course about the Cape of Good Hope, and, after an absence of three years, reached England with his cargo of gold and silver, spices and silks.

Not since Cortez and Magellan, scarcely since Columbus and da Gama, had any one accomplished such a feat; nor were its results much less considerable. The great adventurer had not only shown the way to the rich plunder of the Spanish Main. He had invaded the inviolate preserve of the Pacific, and it was not to be supposed that in the temper of the English this "master thief of the unknown world" would lack successors. Spain, naturally, was furious. Elizabeth, halting as usual between two great alternatives, hesitated whether to honor or imprison the daring adventurer, but finally made his cause her own and that of England. Denouncing to the Spanish ambassador his master's treatment of her subjects, his prohibition of commerce, and his encouragement of English and Irish rebels, she knighted Drake and thus threw down the gage to Spain.

Frobisher and Gilbert

The sea-king of Devon was but one of many adventurers. Even as he embarked on his long voyage, one of his comrades in the suppression of that Irish rebellion engineered by Spain, which had done much to inspire these counter-strokes, attempted the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly by another route. Three times did this commander of the Muscovy Company, Martin Frobisher, essay the northwest 1576-8 passage to India; and though the way he sought was as elusive as the gold in the pyrites which he brought back, he began that long series of Arctic voyages which brought glory and ultimately gain for England in the frozen north. Meanwhile, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, whose writings had inspired Frobisher's exploit, secured a charter for a new world colony; and though his plan failed as signally as that of the Arctic voyages, like them it pointed to future achievement.

These were but a few of England's efforts to expand her influence. At the same time that Gilbert, Drake, and Frobisher were engaged in the west, the power of the Hanse merchants in England was broken. The Eastland Company was chartered for the Baltic trade. The Muscovy Company extended its scope and character; and an embassy was despatched to the Sultan of Turkey seeking for trade concessions which gave rise to the Levant or Turkey Company. With these events England was fairly embarked on her twofold adventure, which presently set her in the forefront of maritime and commercial powers. Dutch and Hanse merchants had indeed preceded her in Russian trade, and France anticipated her plans of settlement in America. But though her Arctic ventures and colonizing schemes broke down; though the adventurers who emulated Drake were often crushed; she led the way to the invasion of the Spanish power, and first devised that form of corporation which was to bring her to ultimate success.

Spain and Ireland

But she could hardly hope to carry on such far-reaching designs unhampered by her enemies. While Philip's armies were at close grips with the Dutch rebels in the Netherlands, and his intrigues supported the French Catholics, he took steps against England which revealed the darker aspects of his character and cause. From their piratical adventures oversea the English were summoned to meet dangers at home. Even as Drake returned from circumnavigation of 1579-83 the world, a body of so-called Papal volunteers, chiefly Spaniards, had landed to assist a new Irish rebellion. To its repression, as six years before, the privateers hastened to the assistance of the crown. The power of the rebellious

Earl of Desmond was destroyed; the ill-fated invaders were put to the sword; and the Spanish ambassador, demanding satisfaction for Drake's piracies, was refused admission to the queen's presence.

—the Jesuits

Meanwhile the same force used to weld the Irish into union against the English power—the Jesuits—despatched agents to England from their colleges on the continent for a darker design. The Spanish ambassador drew in the violent English Romanists; the Scotch Catholic nobles were enlisted; the head of the French Catholics, the Duke of Guise, promised his aid. Agents were engaged to kill Elizabeth; plans drawn for invasion from Scotland: and Mary, Queen of Scots, now long a prisoner, was destined for the English throne. This great design was accompanied by even wider plans. The death of Francis Duke of Anjou made Henry of Navarre, the Huguenot, the next heir to the throne, and France flamed once again in civil war as his opponents strove **1583-4** to bar the way to his accession. At the same time the savior of the Netherlands, William the Silent, fell by the hand of an assassin, instigated by the Spanish king. Thus auspiciously began the great attack upon the Protestants. But the fine-woven scheme broke down. Henry evaded the snares of his enemies; the Netherlands were not dismayed by the loss of their heroic leader. The Scotch Presbyterians secured the person of the young king James; the English conspiracy was unearthed and the conspirators were put to death. The net was drawn about the brilliant and ambitious Queen of Scots; till, as England girded herself to meet the great Armada then preparing in Spain to crush her once for all and make **1587** Philip her master, the unhappy queen, last hope of English Catholics, was put to death.

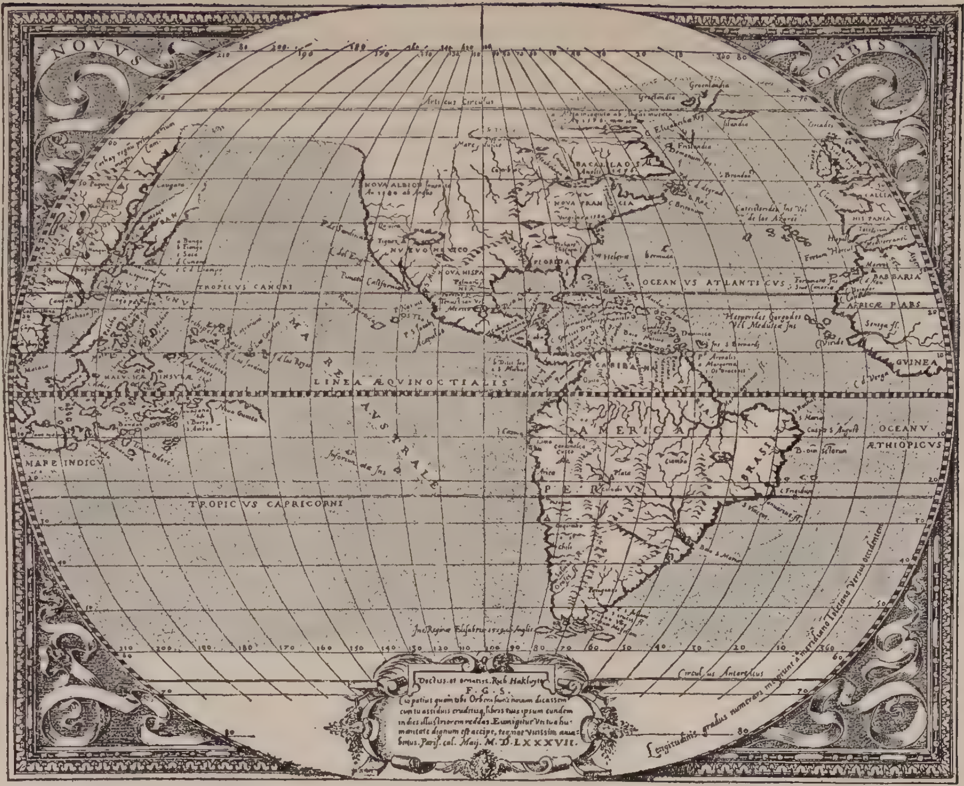
The war

With this the die was cast and each side pushed on to war. England and Scotland signed a peace safeguarding their respective Protestant interests. Elizabeth sent an army to **1586** the Netherlands; and, from the transparent guise of letters of marque from Condé or Orange by which they had long preyed on Spanish ships, her courtiers embarked on more open attacks. These were accompanied by further efforts to

1584-5 colonize. Already Gilbert, with his stepbrother, Sir Walter Raleigh, had tried to plant a settlement in Newfoundland; and Raleigh had sent out a colony to the region north of Florida, now named Virginia in honor of Elizabeth. As the threat of invasion grew, Drake was called on to strike another blow. With Frobisher as his vice-admiral, he plundered Vigo on the coast of Spain, sailed to the Caribbean, burned Santiago, held Santo Domingo and Cartagena to ransom, picked up the remnants of Raleigh's Virginia colony, and so returned to make ready for still more daring exploits.

The Armada Meanwhile Spain's preparation for the invasion of England had gone on. In all her ports, especially Cadiz and Lisbon, shipwrights were busy, sailors, soldiers, supplies, and vessels were collected. In the Netherlands her great general, Parma, drew to the Flemish coast a powerful army to co-operate with the forces of the fleet, which was to crush the English, then the Dutch, restore the waning prestige of Spain, and make Philip the uncontested ruler of the British Isles and the Low Countries. Against this huge preparation Drake was launched again "to impeach the joining of the fleet out of their several ports, keep victuals from them, follow them in case they should come forward towards England or Ireland, cut off as many of them as he could, cut off their landing, and set upon such as should come out of the East or West Indies into Spain, or go out of Spain thither."
1587 Under such wide instructions he made for Cadiz, burst into its harbor, captured, burned, or sunk more than thirty vessels he found there. Then, establishing himself at Prince Henry's old post at Sagres, he harried the coast, seized forts, supplies, and ships, and sold his captives to the Moors to ransom English slaves. Thence he sailed to the Azores and there captured a Portuguese carrack, whose rich cargo opened English eyes to the real value of the Eastern trade; and so, having "singed the beard of the King of Spain," he returned triumphant from the adventure which had proved so great in glory, spoil, and warlike results.

His success only delayed the blow, though that delay was of much help to England; and in the following summer the


NOVVS
ORBIS
Arcticus Circulus
Groenlandia
Islandia
BACALLAOS
NOVA FRANCIA
NOVA ALBION inventa An. 1580 ab Anglis
Quivira
NUEVO MEXICO
FLORIDA
NOVA HISPANIA
California
OCEANUS ATLANTICUS
HISPANIA
GALLIA
BARBARIA
AFRICÆ PARS
GUINEA
TROPICUS CANCRI
LINEA ÆQUINOCTIALIS
MARE AVSTRALE
CANIBALI
AMERICA
PERV
BRASIL
OCEANUS ÆTHIOPICUS
TROPICUS CAPRICORNI
Chile
MARE INDICUM
Nova Guinea
Circulus Antarcticus
Ins. Reginæ Elisabethæ
Longitudinis gradus numerantur a meridiano Toletano versus occidentem
Doctiss. et ornatiss. Rich. Hakluyto
F. G. S.
Cum potius quam tibi Orbem hunc novum dicassem
cum tu assiduis eruditisq. libris tuis ipsum eundem
in dies illustriorem reddas. Eum igitur ut tua hu-
manitate dignum est accipe, teque nos vicissim ama-
bimus. Paris. cal. Maij. M.D.LXXXVII.

The New World in 1587.

This map, dedicated to Richard Hakluyt, represents the English knowledge of the American continents and of the Atlantic and Pacific after Drake's voyage. It will be noted that there is no hint of the existence of Australia. Compare with the Waldseemüller map, I. 150; and the Cook map, II. 360.

Spanish Armada set sail. No such naval expedition had ever before been launched by any European power. A hundred and thirty vessels of near sixty thousand tons burden were manned by eight thousand sailors and more than twice that number of soldiers, who, with galley-slaves, servants, and others, brought the total force to thirty thousand men. Moreover, the fleet was equipped with great stores of ammunition, supplies, horses, mules, carts, and intrenching tools. For this was no mere naval venture. In the Netherlands 1588 the Spanish general, Parma, drew his troops together and prepared transports for an invasion of England which the Armada was designed to cover and assist. Nothing less than the complete conquest of the British Isles was planned; and naval victory was but the prelude to a war on land.

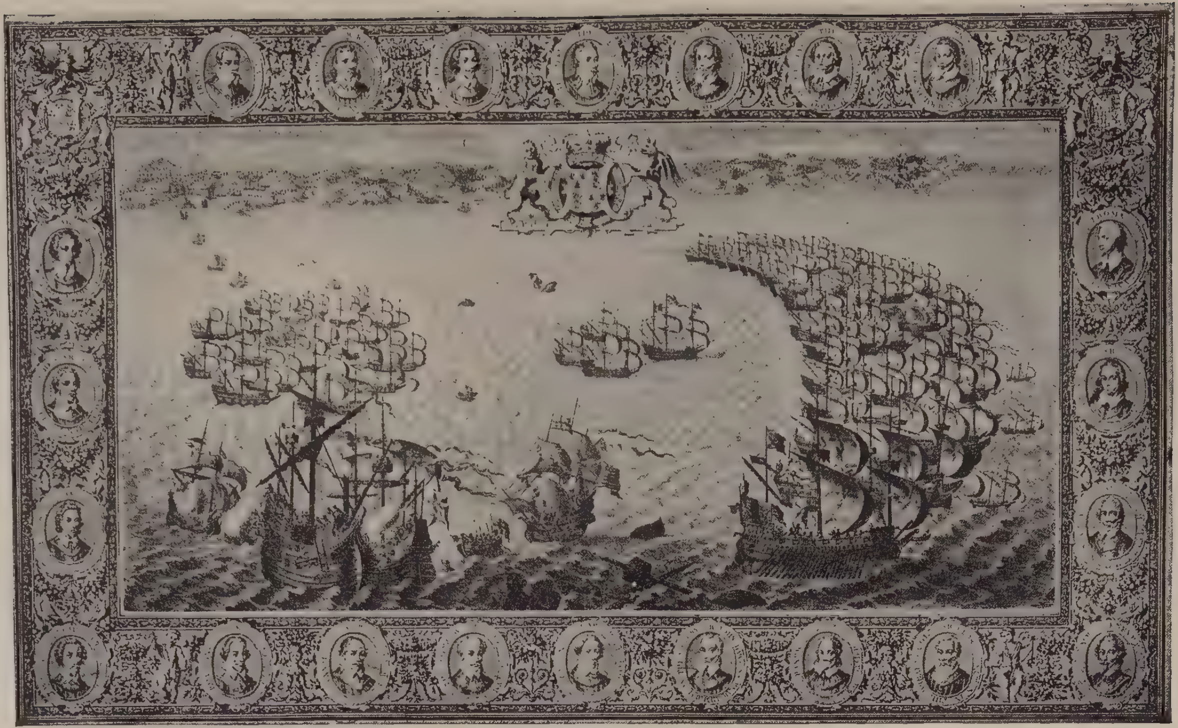
Beside the threatening bulk of this huge twofold armament the English preparations seemed almost insignificant. The royal ships were sparsely provided with food or powder; and the stirring words of the queen scarcely atoned for the royal parsimony which grudged equipment and supplies. But what the government lacked, private enterprise in large measure supplied. A score of ports furnished their vessels to meet the foe, London first of all. Hundreds of seamen, thousands of landsmen volunteered to serve under the great captains who had made the English name a terror to the Spanish world. An army was collected; and the Thames' mouth fortified. Thus prepared, England awaited the attack.

It was not long delayed. Held back by contrary winds until July, a favoring breeze brought the Spanish armament across the Bay of Biscay into the English Channel, where July 21-29 the English fleet, under the queen's cousin, the Catholic Lord Howard of Effingham, awaited them at Plymouth. There the Armada should have stopped and fought. But, acting under orders far too minute, the inexperienced Spanish commander, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, hurried past, with some slight skirmishes, toward his rendezvous at Calais, where Parma, who had brought his forces up prepared to convey them into England by transports, was harassed and held back by a Dutch fleet. Following close on the Armada's track, the English hung on flank and rear, pounding with their heavy artillery, cutting out disabled vessels or slow sailers, which the Spaniards made no effort to save, hampering and harassing their less mobile enemy for a full week till the Armada found shelter in Calais Roads. Driven thence almost immediately by the English fire-ships, they faced their enemies in a last, decisive engagement off Gravelines.

The Battle off Gravelines

In the conflict which was to decide, in some sort, the future of the oceanic world, of Protestantism, and perhaps of Europe generally, all the advantage seemed to lie with the enormous fleet of Spain. Beside its huge array the English vessels seemed as small and weak as their narrow kingdom beside their enemies' far-flung empire. But the weakness was apparent, not real; the advantage actually lay with them. Despite its numbers the Armada counted hardly more than fifty men-of-war fit for the service on which they were engaged; while the English, even when their adversaries first entered the narrow seas, were scarcely overmatched in fighting ships. The slight disparity in numbers was more than made up by the nearness of their ports, with consequent facility for refitting and repairs; while the apparent discrepancy in size was largely accounted for by difference in build.

But the deciding advantage lay in the ships and men. More stable than the top-heavy, cranky Spanish craft, whose pitching and tossing made good marksmanship all but impossible, the English were superior in number and weight of guns. Better manned and served, firing three shots to the Spaniard's one, with greater range and impact, as well as greater accuracy, they poured a tempest of shot into the towering targets of their enemies from a comparatively safe distance. More weatherly, they were able to evade the Spanish efforts to come to close quarters, keep the weather gauge, cut out stragglers and disabled ships, and fight or run with equal success. Finally, the crowning English advantage lay in their officers and crews. The Spaniards, hampered by the soldiers on whom they had relied for boarding and land-service, were undermanned with seamen. Their artillery-



THE SPANISH ARMADA.

One of a series of ten engravings of the House of Lords' tapestry (now destroyed) commemorating the English victory. The plates were made by John Pyne in the early 18th century. This one represents especially well the contrast between the two fleets and the types of vessel. In the left foreground Drake's ship is cutting out a Spanish man-of-war. The galley, and the English supply ships are noteworthy.

men were despised by "men of sword-thrust and push of pike"; their highest officers were grotesquely ignorant of sea affairs, and inferior in every particular, save that of personal bravery, to the English. The English fleet, on the other hand, was heavily manned with sailors trained equally to work and fight their ships. Its commanders were accustomed to their task, and in familiar waters; its admirals were no mere courtiers, but seasoned veterans, chosen not for wealth or social status but for ability. Thus each navy was a fit representative not alone of its national sea-power but of its society.

When finally the two fleets came together at Gravelines, even the disparity of numbers told against the Spanish. While they had lost by capture, shipwreck, destruction, and unseaworthiness, the English fleet had actually increased, since to it "out of all Havens of the Realm resorted ships and men; for they all with one accord came flocking hither as unto a set field, where immortall fame and glory was to be attained and faithfull service to bee performed unto their prince and country." From the first the issue never was in doubt. Defeated with terrific loss, unable to find refuge in the continental ports or effect a junction with Parma, whom the Dutch held impotent, Spain's great Armada finally broke and fled into the North Sea, pursued by the English to the Firth of Forth. Some of its vessels perished off the coast of Holland, some were taken, others sunk or burned. The rest made their slow and painful way about the British Isles, leaving a long trail of wrecked or foundered ships. The survivors who were unfortunate enough to escape the sea were butchered by those into whose hands they fell, till of that imposing force which had set forth to insure the triumph of Spain and Catholicism, a broken handful made its way home again. Without losing a single ship, and at the cost of scarcely more than sixty men, England not merely remained the mistress of the narrow seas, she became the leading naval power of the world. With the failure of her Armada, Spain, broken and bankrupt, lost her primacy in the European system of states; and there began a new chapter in history.

July 29, 1588

CHAPTER XV

THE AGE OF ELIZABETH; AND THE ANGLO-DUTCH INVASION OF THE EAST. 1588-1601

The results of the Armada's failure

LIKE all such great catastrophes, the defeat of Spain's Armada marked at once the climax of one series of events and the beginning of another. The chapter of European history which it closed had been the record of the maritime, commercial, and colonial supremacy of Portugal and Spain. The one it opened was to chronicle the transfer of that power to the north. The sixty years just past had seen the new communions challenge the establishment in church and state; the next sixty were to see affairs readjusted in the light of the new faith and policies thus evolved. The generation then vanishing from the scene had been concerned most largely with controversies which turned upon questions of theology. The generation coming on the stage was to find in the field of science an enlarging sphere of intellectual activity. The colonizing energies of Europe, directed by the Mediterranean powers, had hitherto concerned themselves principally with the tropics, working on broad but superficial lines under royal, noble, and clerical influences. Henceforth they were to be largely absorbed by temperate and cold temperate states; and by middle classes, seeking to win from commerce in private hands and from the actual transference of European peoples with their own customs to the New World the more enduring gain of trade and colonies. Above all, the oncoming generation was to see the currents of religion, politics, and colonial-commercial enterprise joined in new forms of European polity. Thus as a century before Europe had created a new situation in the world's affairs to which she had readjusted her actions and her thought, so now she stood at a fresh parting of the ways, impelled to new achievements along new lines by forces which she herself produced.

The Protestant ascendancy

Of all the consequences which flowed from the Armada's failure none was more striking than that it threw into high relief the three significant features of the situation which the preceding two decades had evoked. These were the increased importance of sea-power, the growing strength of the middle classes, and the shifting of the balance of statecraft toward the reformed communions. Of these the last was most immediately evident. Under Elizabeth, England had revealed a subtlety in politics no less remarkable than her success upon the sea. As a result, not merely was she now definitely ranged on the Protestant side; but the execution of Mary Queen of Scots had delivered that nation into the hands of its Calvinistic elements. These reared the young prince James,—who was to become the ruler of both kingdoms,—in the faith of Geneva rather than of Rome. At the same time the Republic of the United Netherlands had produced a worthy successor to William the Silent in the person of Jan van Oldenbarneveldt. His talents, reinforced by the military gifts of the great Stadtholder's son, Prince Maurice of Nassau, bade fair to rescue the new nation from Spanish bondage and weld it to a state which, from its slender foothold on the land, challenged the supremacy of the sea.

France felt the same impulse. Twelve months to a day **1589** after the English ships turned back from their pursuit of Spain's defeated fleet, Henry III, last of the Valois kings, fell victim to the dagger of a mad priest; and thenceforth the greatest of the Huguenots, Henry of Navarre, faced no rival in his long and bloody progress to the throne. His enemies of the Catholic League were overthrown at Ivry. Paris was won by his nominal conversion to Catholicism, "the lip-service of a mass." Just ten years after Drake had rounded Cape St. Vincent to crush the Spanish vessels then preparing at Cadiz to overthrow the Protestant powers of the north, this half Protestant, half Catholic, and wholly tolerant sovereign of a united France confirmed the rights of his Calvinistic subjects by the Edict of Nantes. **1598**

Thus while half of Germany and all of Scandinavia embraced their doctrines, from the Hebrides to the Pyrenees the new communions found little persecution for a full generation, and Europe remained not unevenly divided between the old faith and the new.

The Anglo-Dutch attack on Spain

Yet with all the romantic interest which attached to the career of Henry IV, with all the many and varied activities which it witnessed, the fifteen years which followed the destruction of the Armada form a far less impressive period in the affairs of Europe than the preceding decade. The Papacy, indeed, saw three masters in as many years. The struggle of the Imperialists against the Turks went on. The Spanish king continued his efforts to suppress his subjects' liberties; and Catholic quarreled with Protestant throughout the Empire as before. The north saw the continuance of the conflict for Vasa supremacy over Sweden and Poland which centered in the ambitions of Sigismund III. But all these events, however important to the men of the time, yield in ultimate significance to that struggle between Spain and her Anglo-Dutch enemies, which spread throughout the world and, by the transfer of naval supremacy to the northern powers, revolutionized Europe's affairs.

This long struggle, it has been observed, was not merely a warlike adventure; it was a conflict between two principles of European civilization. And with the decline of Spain it was but natural that those nations which best expressed the spirit of the changing age, commercial, intellectual, religious, maritime, political, should take their place in the forefront of Europe; as a century earlier political expansion had lain in the hands of Spain and Portugal, and intellectual initiative, with commerce and finance, had been most conspicuous in Italy.

The United Netherlands

Chief among those nations were England and the United Netherlands, and nowhere were certain aspects of the oncoming development more remarkable than in the tiny provinces about the Rhine mouths, still battling for independence, like a later Greece with a Spanish Persia. More than sixteen hundred years earlier, Cæsar had found their swamp- and sea-dwelling ancestors, the Belgæ and Frisii, among the stubbornest and least accessible of his enemies, and Spain was now repeating his experience. Save for the Roman outpost at the "Last Crossing,"—"*Ultra Trajectum,*" Utrecht so-called,—they had remained all but untouched by Roman influence.

As the centuries went on they had been converted by Irish monks; taught by the missionaries to dike and drain the land against the sea, at once their greatest enemy and friend. Their meadows had become the seat of great monasteries; their towns had been enriched by their daring fishermen, who "founded cities on herring skeletons." Later still they came under the power of the aspiring house of Burgundy, and thence, by marriage, to the rule of Spain. Neither was able to crush their ancient love of liberty. Their landed aristocracy, their burghers, their farmers and sailors, lord and merchant-prince alike, cherished a stubborn pride of race and land; and, with their adoption of the Calvinistic doctrines, the Protestant element among them was further hardened against their Catholic rulers. All the tact of Flemish-born Charles V had barely kept his Dutch provinces in leash, and Philip II's ill-advised designs had driven them to rebellion. And though the Catholic Flemings and Walloons had been won again, the United Provinces under their heroic leader, William of Orange, maintained a struggle, which, despite their desperate disparity of numbers, had brought them thus far not merely success but prosperity.

Their commerce and industry

They were still in doubtful conflict for possession of the narrow land which they had so largely won back from the sea, and their real strength lay upon that restless element. Their slow-flowing rivers, their canals, their level, low-lying fields, their too well-watered country, all of whose principal towns were seaports, made them at once extraordinarily accessible to trade and yet defensible in the last resort by letting in the ocean. The people whose "farms only grew enough to feed them half the year," became rich from the North Sea fisheries which fed a fasting faith, and on the carrying trade which their location and facilities threw in their way.

They were masters of the many-mouthed Rhine, with its great commerce, neighbors to the English producers of wool and grain, and to the Flemish weaving districts which consumed those products. Besides the wines and silks of France, the fish and oil, hides, tallow, and forest products of the Baltic and North Sea, they seized upon the trade in Eastern goods from Lisbon and, after the fall of Antwerp, they became the chief distributors to northern Europe for that profitable commerce. So great was their maritime ascendancy that as early as the middle of the sixteenth century their principal province, Holland, was reckoned to possess a thousand ships and thirty thousand seamen. Nor was this all. From Italy their enterprising merchants learned the lessons of finance and trade that had been lost on Spain and Portugal, the tried devices of banking and exchange which were to make the Netherlands a second Lombardy. Meanwhile from Geneva they drew a Calvinistic polity and faith which imposed stern virtues of economy and industry, inspired the love of liberty and individual rights, and helped to nerve them to resist oppression to the last limit of human endurance.

Their political situation

Yet, though their very faults made for success against the outside world, their internal affairs were seldom so fortunate. The faith which infused the principles of dissent, brought with it doctrines of independent thought which held the seeds of controversy. The natural antagonisms of merchant and noble, of maritime and agricultural provinces, were emphasized by wars in which the one bore the chief brunt and the other reaped the chief benefits. The rivalry between province and province, town and town, which, even in time of war, did not always yield to common interests of self-defense, in quieter times might well lead to fierce dissensions. The Union of Utrecht, which had set up the central government of a States General over a federated body of United Provinces, republican in form, had failed to destroy particularistic tendencies. Their constitution was designedly imperfect and obscure. Their legislature was but a meeting of provincial diplomatic delegates, and these, joined to a weak executive and a local administration which failed to check the opposition of the unenfranchised classes to the petty oligarchies of merchants who ruled the cities, perpetuated the old divisions. Finally the jealousies between town and country, province and province, were crowned by the antagonisms of rival schools of theology.

But withal the Netherlands revealed tremendous energy. For the first time individual initiative had virtually free scope in nearly every department of life, and it was almost immediately reinforced by outside agencies. The first of these was the sack of Antwerp by the Spanish troops. The greatest single catastrophe since the fall of Constantinople was the ruin of the Queen of the Low Countries; and its destruction in the burst of Spanish fury which wrecked the rich, rebellious towns of the devoted Catholic Netherlands drove thousands of their wealthy, energetic merchants into the Dutch provinces to increase their resources of capital, ability, and numbers. Still more, when Philip II repudiated his indebtedness and ruined the capitalists of Augsburg, and the great house of Fugger fell, carrying with it many lesser moneyed interests, Amsterdam became perhaps the most powerful financial center of the continent; while the United Provinces, enriched by new energy and capital, struck boldly for supremacy in trade. To this achievement the states bent all their efforts; chambers of commerce in the cities lent their aid; individuals planned and fought. For the first time in modern Europe there arose a national state based on commerce, bound by its ties and interests into new forms of politics and business enterprise. It was republican if not democratic, self-governing, individualistic, yet, for the time at least, co-operating to one end. Free in thought and speech beyond all other continental peoples, it now brought to bear a fresh and powerful energy, nation-wide, to establish a new and active principle and become a vigorous factor in the world's affairs.

England

Yet whatever the intellectual and material advance of the United Netherlands, whatever their immediate strength and success, the ultimate promise of her neighbor-ally, England, was greater still. With all their pride of race, few peoples or none of northern Europe were of more mixed blood than those of the British Isles. The Celtic tribes, which at the dawn of British history were driving a still older population into the fastness of the islands, having been conquered by the Romans, after the imperial eagles were withdrawn were themselves driven from the lowlands by Saxon invaders. These, in turn, were conquered by Dane and Norman, with adventurers or refugees from the whole continent who followed or accompanied them to this melting-pot of European peoples, till around the Saxon-Danish-Norman heart of England proper and the Scottish Lowlands spread a wide Celtic fringe of Wales, Cornwall, and the Scotch Highlands. Ireland had followed much the same course, and though she had been nominally conquered by the English who had absorbed Wales, their sovereignty was scarcely recognized outside the so-called Pale along the eastern coast. The tribal chiefs of the west were nearly as independent as the rulers of Scotland; while, to the political and racial animosity they bore to English domination, the Reformation—which had overspread England and the Scotch Lowlands, but found no foothold in Ireland—added another and even deeper basis of antagonism.

Her triumph

With the defeat of the Armada, after so many years of travail, England now stood forth triumphant and rejoicing in her strength. What the court of Lorenzo de Medici had been to letters, what the court of Ferdinand and Isabella had been to war and adventure a hundred years before, the court of Elizabeth now became to both letters and adventure. Strong in the prestige of Spanish overthrow, enriched by the trade and plunder of the oceanic world, inspired by the new learning of the Renaissance and the spirit of the Reformation, skilled alike to wield the sword and pen, the brilliant circle ranged about the English queen touched the high level of courtly achievement in action and intellect alike. The court, indeed, was but the more splendid flower of a sturdy stock. Elsewhere in Europe popular liberties had, for the most part, sunk beneath the despotism which men welcomed as a cure for feudal anarchy, and aristocracy had hardened to a caste. But in England the Parliament lived on beside that very tyranny which had crushed the mediæval baronage. There had been created a nobility of "new men" dependent on the crown and bound by the old custom by which a commoner could rise to ducal rank and the younger sons of nobles sink again to commoners; thus insuring a more intimate relation among all classes of society than was generally possible on the continent.

The Tudors

The ruling house partook of all the qualities of the race from whence it sprung. Brave, crafty, affable, skilled in the "art of governance," the Tudors revealed the powerful anomaly of wielding despotism by popular consent. They were arbitrary monarchs of a free people, and they expressed the will and the temper of their subjects and their times. Shrewd, haughty, practical, illogical, and proud, at once religious and cynical, they possessed insight and common-sense beyond their class. "I do not so much rejoice," declared Elizabeth, "that God hath made me to be a queen, as to be a queen over so thankful a people." If the Tudors were tyrants, they brooked no tyranny in others. If they were at times unjust and cruel, they enforced justice as they saw it. If they oppressed, they checked lesser oppressors. If they struck down aspiring individuals, they seldom dared invade the rights of a class; for their power rested in their concert with their subjects. The Tudors retained, indeed, what power they could in the face of the increasing strength of their subjects. They were not able to overawe their Parliaments, but they created scores of new boroughs, whence they hoped to draw into the Commons a body of representatives, like the new nobility, devoted to their interests. Yet if this was their design it was far from accomplishing the subjection of even the lower House to royal will; and it evidenced at once the growing power of the commonalty and the substitution of "governance" for mere arbitrary royal authority. While the Vatican sent Bruno to the stake, Richard Hooker argued the supremacy of law and government in his *Ecclesiastical Polity,* unharmed. While the Consistory compelled Galileo to recant, Coke maintained to the king's face that royalty was under God and the law. Such were the results of Tudor domination on their own generation and the next.

The church

England's energy was not limited by politics and war. Her breach with Rome, which had begun with the question of royal divorce, deepened by the disestablishment of the monasteries, and confirmed by the conversion of the people, had been made permanent by the foundation of a Protestant church unlike any other in Christendom, and now, by the failure of the Armada, secured from Catholic attack. Created, like the aristocracy, under the influence of the crown, it remained Roman in form though Protestant in doctrine, episcopal, diocesan, liturgical, and largely Calvinist, a working compromise between reaction and reform, a middle ground on which all but extremes could meet. Parliament, alternately subservient and independent, now a convenient instrument, now an effective check to royal power, was supported by a commercial, moneyed class that took its place beside the landed interest which had risen upon the ruins of the baronage, enriched by the spoils of a disestablished Catholicism and a depressed yeomanry. Thus with all its inequalities and inconsistencies, well-balanced, self-contained, and self-supporting by land and sea alike, equally removed from extremes in politics, faith, and society, the England of Elizabeth stood forth the characteristic leader of its times, as its great rival, Spain, had been a hundred years before.

The Puritans

Like her it had its adventurers and religious enthusiasts. From manor-house and farm, seaport and counting-house poured forth a steady stream of younger sons, yeomen, sailors, merchant-adventurers, to seek their fortunes oversea. Everywhere, but especially in this busy middle class, as the doctrines of Calvin made their way, the advancing thought of the reformed communions, Puritan so-called, had tended to press beyond the middle ground of the Tudor church establishment to a more extreme Protestantism. It combined narrower sympathies with wider liberty of thought. It urged a severer code of morals, a more austere life, a simpler form of worship, opposing itself to the "rags of Rome" and the "abominations" which to its eyes defiled the statelier, "seemlier" forms of the Anglican worship. Against these extremists, with a sure instinct for the royal prerogative, the crown had set its face, but the blood of the martyrs was ever the seed of the church. The persecuted Puritans had multiplied and strengthened with the growth of a class where "heterodoxy and trade went hand in hand." It now became increasingly apparent that their doctrine of the individual right to choose his faith, their democratic or theocratic tendencies, backed by their numbers and their capital, would inevitably be transferred in time to the field of politics, whence vested authority labored to exclude their disturbing influence.

Literature

In literature as in adventure and religion, meanwhile, Englishmen went far in the generation which followed the Armada. The "poets' poet," Spenser, crowned his earlier triumphs with his *Faerie Queene.* Courtier-adventurers, like Sidney, laid aside the sword to wield a scarcely less trenchant pen; and dramatists, with the supreme genius of the modern literary world, Shakespeare at their head, passed the bounds which had been set to achievement hitherto in that field. Relieved from imminent fear of destruction at the hands of Spain, conscious of its strength, and equipped for progress in nearly every field of human endeavor, the nation turned to complete the downfall of its ancient enemy. And as in the case of Holland, now joining in the fray, its very elements of unrest contributed to its offensive power, since religion no less than trade was the prize of success.

Reprisals for the Armada

Its first efforts were directed toward retaliation; and the scattering ships of the Armada had scarcely straggled back to Spain before England had launched a fleet against her enemy. This enterprise, under Drake's command, fell short of what had been expected, but the loss inflicted on the Spanish ships and stores completed the work of making his countrymen safe from further danger on that side. Not 1589 the least of the English intention had been a plan for "intercepting the king's treasure from the Indies," and though that failed, the project of traversing the eastern trade monopoly was almost immediately revived by an extraordinary

The third circumnavigation of the world 1586-8

circumstance. A fortnight after Drake returned from pursuing the Armada, there had appeared in his native town of Plymouth one Thomas Cavendish, in his little ship *Desire,* from a voyage around the world, which in daring and results was a fit rival to Drake's own exploit. Two years earlier Cavendish had sailed with three small vessels by way of the Canaries and Cape Verde to South America, passed the Straits, and made many prizes, among them a Manila galleon, the *Great Santa Anna.* Thence he found his way to the Philippines, and so, by way of Java to the Cape of Good Hope, discovered St. Helena, and, "by the mercifull favour of the Almightie," reached home just in time to hear of the defeat of the Armada, "to the singular rejoycing and comfort of us all." From this great voyage he brought back not merely treasure; under the circumstances the maps and information he acquired were of inestimable value. For by confirming and enlarging the knowledge of the Spanish preserves which had first been invaded by Drake, he performed a service of scarcely less importance to his fellow-countrymen, whose energies were now bent on completing Spain's overthrow.

Elizabeth's policy

Fortunately for Spain, and unfortunately for England, Elizabeth still hung irresolute between conflicting policies. Had she followed the plan of cutting off the *Flota* which supplied the Spanish power with the sinews of war from America and was now the most considerable source of Spanish revenue, she would have brought her enemy to his knees at once, and saved Europe a bloody chapter in her ensuing annals. If she had seized strategic points and held the sea she would have accomplished scarcely less. But vacillation and parsimony, as too frequently before, marked the course of the English queen in the decade and a half which intervened between the Armada and her death; and though many expeditions harassed and weakened the power of her antagonist, Spain, however crippled, was enabled to go on. Norreys and
1589 Drake were despatched to aid the aspirant to the throne of Portugal, Don Antonio, to rescue his country from the Spanish domination. Frobisher, Cumberland, Hawkins, Howard,

Essex, and Raleigh were sent out to ravage the Spanish coasts, plunder the Indian and American fleets, and avenge Philip's aid to an Irish rebellion, which was suppressed with 1597 stern cruelty, as the English queen's long reign wore to an end. But there was, withal, no serious, determined effort to end Spain's power, even on the sea. After two vain attempts to found a colony in Virginia, Raleigh turned, with Drake and Hawkins, again to the Spanish Main, seeking its plunder and that fabled El Dorado which had lured so many brave men to their death. This elusive goal Raleigh sought about Guiana and the Orinoco, while Drake and Hawkins ended their careers where they had been begun in a last blow against the West Indies. It was a tragic close to a momentous period. At Porto Rico Hawkins died; and Drake, foiled in his efforts to plunder the towns he attacked, soon followed his colleague. Off Porto Bello his body was committed to 1595 the sea,—"and that which raised his fame became his grave." But with all the harassing conflict of raid and reprisal, neither the destruction of Spanish fleets and ports, nor the seizure of Fayal, nor even the vain attempt to invade Spain's western monopoly by the ill-fated settlement of Virginia, effected little more than the hampering of Spanish plans and momentary loss of men and property. The final blow remained to be struck.

The break-down of Spanish monopoly

As a preliminary, this guerilla warfare of the seas provided the information which was essential to the greater enterprise. Drake, Hawkins, and Raleigh had many rivals in their attack upon the Spanish Main. In those tempestuous years before and after the Armada, many others made their way to sack the Spanish ports from Vera Cruz about South America to Acapulco, and to waylay the galleons, till the way to the New World came to be known to the English almost as well as to the Spaniards themselves. The "ruttier," or sailing directions thither for all seasons of the year, took its place among the navigation records, with charts and descriptions not alone of the Americas but of the Atlantic islands off Africa, of the winds and currents of the Atlantic and even of the Pacific. Of all the plunder of the Spanish ships nothing was counted more valuable than the letters, reports, and maps of their captains' cabins. Within a dozen years after the Armada, on the basis of such material, England had built up a body of information of more worth to her even than the wealth of gold and silver she had secured from Spain. The Dutch were not far behind, and in one field they surpassed even their future rivals. Once the mystery of the sea-ways east and west was solved, the map-makers, printers, and engravers, who abounded in the Netherlands, published the knowledge which the privateers secured. So far as Protestant peoples were concerned, the Reformation had destroyed whatever force the Papal bulls had lent to Spain and Portugal. Now as the last bulwark of the Iberian monopoly, the secrets of the passage, began to fail, the guns of the Protestant privateers and the Flemish gravers' tools joined to complete the conquest of Philip's far-spreading empire of the seas.

The invasion of the East

Of all the difficulties which confront the historian who aspires to chronicle the progress of any society, small or great, the most perplexing is to choose the leading motives which at any moment dominate the actions of the time and determine the future, and to weave into one narrative the many and often widely divergent activities of classes and individuals which make up the sum of the achievements of the mass. In too many cases this seems to be all but impossible; and even in considering the results of such a catastrophe as the defeat of the Spanish Armada, it is not easy to determine justly the relative importance of the various results which seem to flow from that great event. But among them one is certain. With the collapse of Spain's domination of the sea, the way was opened for her enemies to invade the long guarded routes to the Orient, and to begin there a chapter of history of the most far-reaching consequence not only to themselves but to Europe and to the world generally.

The great days of the Spanish Main came to an end with the concluding years of the sixteenth century; for the English courtier-adventurers found the ports prepared against them, treasure hid, and capable resistance everywhere. But if the colonizers for the moment found no permanent foothold in the western hemisphere, the merchant-adventurers were more fortunate on the other side of the world. Even before Armada times the Muscovy Company had secured its position in the trade of Russia. The English queen and the Russian Czar had exchanged ambassadors, and a score of voyages had brought Persia within the widening area of English enterprise. The "high courage and singular activity" of the Arctic adventurers had been rewarded with little more than unmeasured realms of polar ice through which they had been unable to penetrate to the riches of the East. But what their daring had failed to accomplish was now achieved in different quarters and by different means. For as in the preceding generation Sebastian Cabot had brought from Spain the knowledge which had directed the English along new paths of enterprise, so now, with the defeat of the Armada, there came from Portugal a like impulse which took the English power at last across the line.

James Lancaster

The story is one of the romances of history. Among the seamen who had flocked from all quarters to fight the Armada came one James Lancaster, who had been "brought up among the Portuguese," to command a vessel in that "last great battle in the west"; and his arrival marked an epoch in affairs. Many adventurers, indeed, English and Dutch, had already made their way to the Guinea coast. The survivors of the Drake and Cavendish voyages, at least, knew something of the way back to England by the Cape of Good Hope. But thus far knowledge of the seaway to the Indies was not within the scope of English seamanship. Now, however, all this was changed. Three years after the defeat of **1591-4** Philip's fleet, Lancaster sailed in the same ship he had commanded at Gravelines, the *Edward Bonaventure,* with two more, from Plymouth bound for the Indies. From Table Bay he sent back one of his little squadron full of scurvy patients. Another of his ships was lost; but he went on. He evaded Portuguese hostility, conciliated the natives, gained knowledge "of the state and traffique of the country" everywhere. He made his way by Zanzibar about Cape

Comorin to Ceylon, Sumatra, Pulo Penang, and Malacca, trading and taking prizes; and after three years, returning as he went, brought his rich cargo home, with twenty-five of the two hundred men who sailed with him.

What Vasco da Gama's first voyage had been to Portugal, Lancaster's exploit was to England. The Portuguese monopoly had been invaded successfully, the closely guarded seaway to the East traversed, and the Spanish-Portuguese power had been found far from invincible on its own trading-ground. The effect was profound if not immediate. The following year, financed by London merchants, Lancaster plundered the Brazilian ports to such effect that he was compelled to hire Dutch ships to help transport his booty from Pernambuco; and scarcely was the profit shared among the backers of his enterprise than wider plans were set on foot to follow up the lead his earlier exploit had given. But the delay had already proved nearly fatal to the progress of English enterprise in the East; for before the Londoners could formulate their plans they had been anticipated by their rivals across the North Sea.

The Dutch invasion of the East

It was not surprising that the Dutch should take the lead in this movement. They had long been accustomed to act as middlemen for oriental products between Lisbon and north European ports, and thus had grown familiar with the supply and the demand of a traffic which they had shared only with a few houses in London and the Low Country capitals. Now that they were in arms against Philip, English and Dutch alike had been shut out from Lisbon. Their ships were seized; and a commercial no less than a religious and political crusade had been proclaimed against them. With this, and with the fall of Antwerp, nothing remained to those determined to participate in the traffic with Asia but to break through to the sources of the eastern trade. Years earlier the northern route had been proposed; the Mediterranean way had been attempted; and the Guinea coast had been explored. But the Polar plans had thus far come to naught. Spain had strengthened her hold upon the Mediterranean where, with the Turk and the Barbary corsairs, seafaring became too dangerous to be largely profitable; and the Guinea commerce was a poor substitute for that of Lisbon.

Dutch efforts to secure a source of eastern goods had thus far been futile; but at this juncture, like the English, they were aided by circumstance. Lancaster had been by no means the only foreigner in the Spanish-Portuguese service. Long before his day an English Jesuit, Stephens, had become a resident of Goa; more recently Elizabeth had sent a certain Ralph Fitch as envoy to Cambay and China. The latter, taken prisoner by the Portuguese and conveyed to Goa, had escaped, visited the Mogul Emperor, Akbar, at Delhi, and returned to tell his marvelous story. More important still, five years before the Armada sailed, one John Huyghen van 1583-9 Linschoten of Haarlem had gone out in the train of the Archbishop of Goa, and he now returned to publish his experiences and the routes to India. Three Dutch expeditions in successive years to find the northern way to the East had 1594-7 failed, and the heroic explorer Barentz had been lost; but Linschoten's tale of "great provinces, puissant cities, and immeasurable lands" spurred his countrymen to attempt the southern passage. And at the same moment fortune put in their hands a proper instrument for their purpose. This was a Dutch skipper, Cornelius van Houtman of Gouda, sometime in the service of Portugal but now disgruntled by the treatment accorded him by his employers, and prepared to reveal the secrets of the spice trade.

Thus equipped, the Company van Verre was formed for a Cape voyage. The aid of Linschoten and the geographer Plancius was secured; four ships, carrying some two hundred and fifty men and mounting sixty guns, were fitted out; and with Pieter Dierckz Keyser and the English John Davis as chief pilots, and Houtman as chief commissary, the squadron set sail. Rounding the Cape in safety, it stopped at Mada- 1595-7 gascar, the Malaccas, and Sunda, and reached its objective, Bantam, before it met determined opposition from the Portuguese. Proceeding thence, fighting and trading, taking on, with its cargo of spices, Chinese and Indians from Malabar, a Japanese and an experienced pilot from Gujerat, it made friends with the natives wherever possible. It gained information everywhere. After more than two years it sailed again into the Texel with its precious goods and even more precious knowledge.

Its results

Its effect on Holland was no less great than that of Lancaster's voyage had been on England; and its results were far more practical and immediate. The Company van Verre prepared a second squadron at once. The Old Company of Amsterdam and the New Company of Zealand were founded, and others soon followed. The plan of reaching the East around South America was revived; and finally, when van Neck took out eight ships to Java and the Moluccas, set up factories, treated with native rulers, and returned with full cargoes, the whole nation fell into a frenzy of excitement over the prospect thus spread before them. They scarcely counted the danger and the cost. With one accord they hurried forward their preparations in defiance of the pressing hostilities at home and the squadrons which the Spanish-Portuguese authorities hastened to throw across the path of the intruders from the Canaries to the East.

Dutch activities elsewhere 1593

Meanwhile the Dutch had been no less active on the African and the American coasts. Five years after the Armada, Barend Erickzoon had led the way to the sources of gold and ivory and slaves on the west coast of Africa. The numerous efforts of his successors to seize S. Jorge de Mina and S. Thomé and so secure a permanent foothold on the Guinea coast had met with small success; for the climate had been found insupportable and the Portuguese power invulnerable. Yet despite the losses to individuals, it was apparent that the annoyance of the Spaniards and the prospect of further gains in America, which were later realized, were of advantage to the state. Especially was this true in the western hemisphere. Oldenbarneveldt, indeed, obstructed the design of an Antwerp refugee, one William Usselincx, to found a company to exploit and colonize the Americas, of much reward thereafter. But for many years, with the connivance of the colonial authorities, the Dutch carried on a profitable smuggling trade and even built posts on the

Amazon. So great, in fact, was Dutch activity in the East and West at the close of the sixteenth century, so keen the competition, not merely with other nations but among themselves, that it seemed not unlikely to defeat its own ends. The States General found it impossible, among local rivalries, to enforce the regulation of the various companies; and, failing this, they turned to another and, as it proved, a far greater design, that of consolidation. So far had the provinces progressed in a decade that they planned to seize the whole of the trade of the tropics in both hemispheres.

The English East India Company

Before the project of consolidating their various interests in that field could be put into force, their English rivals had given them another incentive to that end and a model for their action. Against the English, as against the Dutch, Spain had sought to close the Mediterranean; and the existence of the old company of the Levant being thus endangered, steps were taken to reorganize and strengthen that corporation. This was the more important in that its interests were threatened from another quarter; for scarcely had the Dutch secured a hold on the spice trade when they raised the prices against the English. Under such circumstances the Londoners were driven to protect themselves; and, as a first step, two founders of the Levant Company, Staper and Smith, planned a new association. An agent, John Mildenhall, was despatched to the Great Mogul to secure commercial privileges. Lists were made of places held by neither Portugal nor Spain, which might be available to English trade without open hostility. A capital of some seventy thousand pounds was subscribed; ships were bought; the queen was petitioned for a patent. Finally, on the last day of the **1600** sixteenth century, a royal charter conferred on "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East Indies"—commonly known as the East India Company—exclusive privilege for fifteen years of all commerce beyond the Cape of Good Hope, in places not held by other Christian powers.

The new corporation was obliged to send at least six ships a year. It was forbidden to export specie without guaranteeing to return it; and its activities were controlled scarcely less by the crown and the Privy Council than by its own governors. It partook at first, therefore, in large degree, of the qualities of that form of organization known as a "regulated company," in which individuals or groups within a larger body, under its general supervision, sent out separate ventures. Still more was it the child of the curious Elizabethan policy, disinclined to face the facts of any situation, tentative, hesitating, inconclusive. It was inconceivable that the company should not come into conflict with the Spaniards and the Portuguese despite the mandate of the charter forbidding it to occupy the ports of its rivals. It was no less absurd to imagine that the southern colonial powers would look with more favor upon an organization invading their monopoly because of its charter provisions. Thus the early history of the company, whose activities were so restricted and whose capital was so limited, but which was destined to such great achievement, in consequence partook of the spirit of half measures so characteristic of Elizabethan policy.

Its first voyage 1601-3

None the less, its services were from the first considerable. Under such auspices, with Smith as its first governor, James Lancaster was made commander of its fleet, seconded by the most famous navigator of his day, John Davis, who had explored the Polar regions, sailed with Raleigh and Essex, and but recently piloted Houtman around Africa. With four "tall ships" these leaders set sail in the first spring of the new century, rounded the Cape and made Achin, to find the "queen of England very famous there by reason of the wars and the great victories . . . against the king of Spain,"—so far had the results of the Armada spread. Loading with cinnamon and pepper, they established factories in Bantam and the Moluccas; and, after an uneventful voyage home, dropped anchor in Plymouth harbor to find England mourning the death of Elizabeth which had occurred three months before. Meanwhile, still seeking, like their Dutch competitors, to avoid the Spanish-Portuguese hostility and secure a shorter way to the East, the company had sent Weymouth on another search for the northwest passage. In that he failed; but, with Lancaster's return, the way about the Cape, however long and dangerous, was at last assured, and there began that long three-cornered rivalry for eastern supremacy which was to take its place among the principal activities of European powers for two hundred years.

The Dutch East India Company

However great the ultimate effect upon the English, the immediate results of the establishment of their East India Company were of far more importance to the Dutch. What the States General alone had not been able to effect in saving the merchants from their overzeal was now accomplished by their rivals. The government of the Provinces took steps at once to unify the separate Dutch companies. Their petty jealousies were overcome. The fear of centralized control, which was always a bugbear to the Netherlands, was allayed by the establishment of a so-called Council of Seventeen, with representatives from all the chambers of commerce involved in the new enterprise. The authority of Oldenbarneveldt and Maurice of Nassau was invoked to quiet factional discord; and, two years after the English company was under **1602** way, the Dutch East India Company was chartered.

The terms and resources under which the new corporation began its long and profitable career fitly symbolized the difference between the English policy and the Dutch in regard to Spain and the East. The Provinces were still nominally mere rebels against their sovereign, and the scruples which possessed Elizabeth and her advisers as to conflicting rights, for them had no existence, since, in any event, they were outside the law. Nor were their preparations less significant. The capital of more than six million florins, subscribed by citizens of the Provinces, the exclusive privileges for twenty-one years to trade, colonize, and make war throughout the vast territory which lay between the Strait of Magellan and the Cape of Good Hope, revealed the scope and purpose of the powerful corporation. Sixty directors were chosen from all the principal chambers of commerce of the cities and provinces, a third of them from Amsterdam, with an inner circle, the "XVII," to whom direction of affairs was given.

Thus was revealed the national character of this undertaking as at once a source of profit and a warlike move against the Spanish power. With its resources and experience recruited from the whole people, its tremendous capital, its wide privileges, it was not merely the symbol of a new force in European politics and a new element in the world's affairs. It became the greatest engine of expansion and of trade yet organized in modern Europe, destined not merely by its deeds but by its example to play a great and decisive part in the next stage of political and economic progress of the continent. Such were the circumstances which, in the fifteen years between the Armada and the death of Elizabeth, gave a new turn to the fortunes of Europe and introduced new devices to further her power and resources.

The end of an era

With the formation of the English and the Dutch East India companies the decade and a half which succeeded the Armada was fitly crowned, and the emergence of such organizations well typified the changes which were altering the face of European life and politics. Already the rulers of the generation which had seen the power of Spain broken in the disastrous failure of its crowning exploit were passing from the scene. Five months after the Edict of Nantes appeared, while Houtman was engaged in his voyage to the East, the champion of the Counter-Reformation and master of the 1598 colonial world, Philip II, died, leaving his country bankrupt, discredited, and, as it proved, weak beyond belief of those who still remembered her as the strongest and proudest power of the continent. Of Philip's antagonists, William of Orange and the subtle Elizabethan, Walsingham, had gone long since. Burleigh died a short month before; while their mistress, Elizabeth, lived to see five years of triumph over her old enemy. On the Imperial throne, the astrologer, Rudolf II, had spent two-thirds of his long reign in vain attempts to turn back the rising tide of heresy and preserve from his too ambitious vassals and relatives something of the power which Charles V had wielded. But, like his neighbors on the east, he found himself the champion of a losing cause. There, while Sigismund III of Poland and Sweden strove to guide the widely diverging destinies of his ill-matched pair of principalities, the northern states adjusted their affairs to altering circumstance and the Turks rested on their conquests. In Russia, simultaneously with Philip II's death, the old line of Rurik ended in Feodor II, whose removal left a long heritage of civil strife, which for the time removed the Muscovites from further share in the affairs of Europe. With the death of Elizabeth in 1603 the Armada period may be said to end. Thenceforth Europe moved forward under new leaders upon new paths to widely different goals.

And while the older antagonisms of Europe went on, the great religious question shaped itself to new and still more terrible and far-reaching conflict, and the issue of royal prerogative and popular privilege took form. While the intellectual development of Europeans reached new heights of achievement and revealed new possibilities to science and philosophy, Europe beyond the sea came suddenly into a prominence which it was never to lose. For with the loss of Spain's monopoly of the ocean ways, the colonial and commercial elements of the northern powers, now suddenly unleashed, hastened to carry out their long-cherished dreams of expansion, and so began another era of European progress.

CHAPTER XVI

EUROPE AT THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The middle classes

It has been observed that the triumph of the English and the Dutch over the force of Philip II was due, in no small degree, to the activity and ability of that element in society to which is usually given the name of middle class, an element equally removed, on the one side, from the aristocratic caste which during the middle ages arrogated to itself the conduct of public affairs, and, on the other, from the lower ranges of peasants and laborers. To a still greater extent was the progress of society due to that same class which, as the seventeenth century approached, came to be of increasing importance in affairs. However much great movements like the Renaissance and the Reformation, science, letters, art, and scholarship had owed to the patronage of those in authority, this secularized middle class, economically independent and intellectually progressive, equally opposed to clerical conformity and aristocratic convention, had been the prime movers in economic and cultural activities. In consequence the history of the sixteenth century concerns itself not only with the ambitions of rulers, commanders, and ecclesiastics, but with the achievements of commoners who from Luther to Drake, Copernicus to Descartes, revolutionized the world of thought and action.

To these were joined the no less remarkable, though for the most part anonymous, improvements of the arts and crafts in the hands of obscure inventors and artisans. These laid the foundations for the advance in capacity and comfort which we are apt to call civilization. In consequence, whatever credit may be assigned to the ruling classes of Europe for their services in this cause, it is chiefly to those from whom social and political eminence was withheld—the middle classes—that European culture and capability owe their development, and it is in their activities that any history of modern European progress must find much of its theme.

At no preceding time in history had the numbers of this middle class been so great nor its influence so apparent as in the closing years of the sixteenth century. As a natural consequence, its increasing strength was beginning to be evidenced by its emergence into public affairs. Not merely in science and literature, to which it still remained the chief contributor, in art and architecture, in philosophy and theology, as in every handicraft from weaving to ship-building, but in matters which a century earlier would have been reckoned beyond its province, this element, now coming to be known as democracy, had proved its power. And if one feature, above all others, characterizes the difference between the seventeenth century and its predecessors, it is the greater part played by the people in every state not wholly dominated by the ancient order. Of all the forces making for the modern world, of all the powers to whom the future belonged, this was the chief; and to those nations who were first to recognize or experience the strength latent in this new source of greatness came the first reward for its recognition.

Economic and social advance

It owed its rise to the economic and social advance of which it was a product and to which it had so largely contributed. The sixteenth century had been the age of capital and of national kingship, as well as of the Reformation and the exploitation of the western hemisphere; and with the decline of feudalism there had developed not merely a new system of national and international exchange, but new sources of wealth and power arising from commerce and finance. The relatively local industry, the restricted markets, the payment in kind or exchange, which characterized the mediæval period, had given way to wider operations and greater interests. Not every feudal lord still exacted duties on the goods that traversed his lands; and, whatever the situation which still existed "beyond the line," in European waters not every merchant ship was a potential pirate.

While commerce was thus slowly freed from its chief danger and inconvenience, finance received a like impulse. For the ecclesiastical anathema against usury had given way to the idea that men might properly take interest for sums which otherwise might gain profit in their own business. Money thus became a commodity, and, enriched by the influx of specie from the New World, as well as by the removal of restrictions and prejudice, the merchant-banker class increased in numbers and influence. Land remained, indeed, the more honorable, if not the more profitable, basis of wealth, but almost from year to year capital played a greater part in affairs.

Banks and stock-exchanges

As commercial operations had increased in number, magnitude, and variety, new devices were put in operation to finance them. From Italy the idea of a public bank had made its way to Holland. Besides this, the Netherlands had adopted another financial expedient of incalculable importance for the future. This was the issue of stock in shares which could be transferred from hand to hand, bought and sold publicly like land or goods. Such a device, first used by the great oversea trading companies, effected a revolution in finance of as great importance as banking itself and of perhaps even more far-reaching consequence, since it permitted men of small means to have a share in great financial enterprises, and drew from a thousand little hoards the national savings into vast reservoirs of capital.

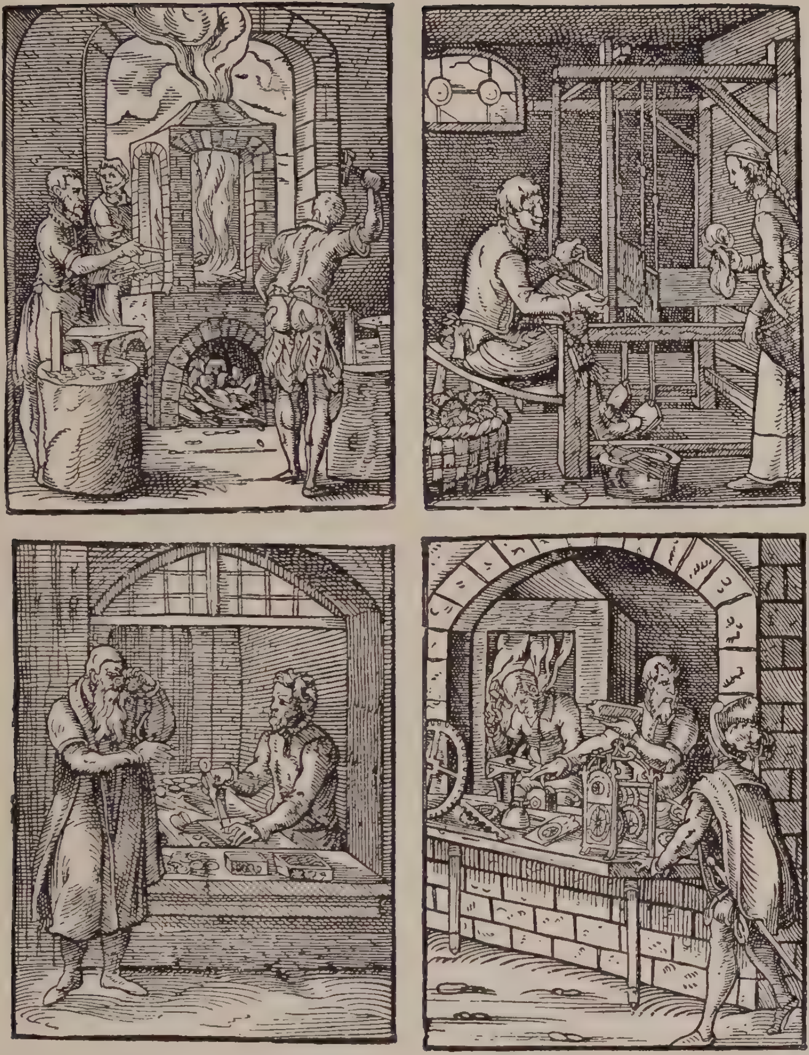
Nor was this the only important feature of this period of commercial revolution; for commerce itself experienced great changes. Fairs, which had been so characteristic of the middle ages, remained as picturesque and profitable survivals of the older period. The cloth fairs of England and the Low Countries; the city exchanges of Germany, now reinforced by the book market at Leipzig; the great Russian fair of Nijni Novgorod, where East and West met to exchange their wares; and hundreds of like and lesser marts throughout the continent still played a great part in the economic as in the social life of Europe. Even beyond the sea, from Porto Bello to Japan, this oldest of systems held its sway undisturbed. Such activities were actually greater and more various than two centuries earlier, as supply and demand had gradually increased. Yet in comparison with the total amount of business done, their importance had relatively declined before the advance of more modern systems. The word exchange no longer connoted mere barter of commodities; for specie, bills, notes, credit, discount, and shares of stock were now a part of commerce as of finance. Combinations of trade and capital, so-called ''engrossers,'' ''regraters,'' ''forestallers,'' or monopolists were active and now clearly recognized factors in affairs; and, as a result of long evolution, the business world took on an aspect familiar to modern eyes as ''exchanges,'' dealing in stocks and bills, made their appearance in the centers of capital. Only in one direction was trade still hampered—its method of land transport. Wagons had taken the place of pack-horses, and with them had come some slight attention to highways. But, in the main, Europeans were to await for generations the transport facilities adequate to their ambitions and their needs.

Effect of Europe oversea on the old world

No small part of this widespread development had been directly due to Europe beyond the sea. Trade routes had been revolutionized. As the bulk of commercial and financial power was transferred to northern powers the stream of traffic had worn down new channels of commerce, and the influx of precious metals altered the economic character of the continent. The flood of bullion and the increase of trade had not merely called a new class into existence to redress the old mediæval balance of noble and serf, free and unfree: it threatened to revolutionize politics no less than society. This increase of wealth had not been, indeed, an unmixed blessing to all men alike. It had produced a rise of prices in the sixteenth century, which had perhaps been not unrelated to the popular discontent of that tumultuous period. Neither wages nor national revenue had been increased proportionately to the growth of capital, and as yet no adequate means had been devised to draw such fluid wealth into the service of the state or lay on it such burdens as the land still bore. Both masses and governments, in consequence, had felt the strain; and readjustments in taxation, like the welfare of working classes, had, as usual, lagged far behind the growing national resources. Worse still, as royalty had become more ostentatious and expensive with its growing power, as the luxury of favored individuals and classes had increased more than the comfort of the great majority, social disturbance grew.

One may not venture to declare what relation, if any, exists between the concurrent development of these phenomena and the tremendous period of war by which it was accompanied and followed. But it is certain that there was throughout the continent a large discontented element, landless and moneyless, ready for any desperate enterprise. Nor is it less certain that, whatever religious and political motives impelled rulers to wage war against the old ecclesiastical establishment and their neighboring rivals, the hope of gain was not always absent from councils which professed themselves concerned only with conscience and honor.

Scarcely less significant than these phenomena was the general change of mental attitude, habit, and consequent demand, produced by the increasing stream of goods from Asia and America. What had been thought not long since the almost unattainable luxuries of the few, with the advance of what we call civilization, had come to be regarded as the necessities of the many. Spices and sugar, cottons, silks, with an infinity of lesser products of the extra-European lands, had begun to seem essential to existence. Upon them now depended many arts. Painters and dyers, workers in precious stones and metals, ivory, and stuffs of all sorts relied upon them. The advance in medicine brought new demands and new necessities. Even sports, like the recently invented game of billiards, and habits like the growing use of tobacco, tea, coffee, and cocoa, lent their influence to increase the pressure on this commerce and to establish more firmly the connection between Europe and the outside world. It became inconceivable that her people should allow themselves to be cut off from the sources of the gold and goods which more and more became the foundation of a great part



Sixteenth Century Crafts.

After the wood-cuts of Jost Amman, 1562. Above the nail-maker and the weaver. Below the spectacles-maker and the clock-maker. Compare the weaver with the picture of 18th century weaving, vol. II, p. 348.

of her existence; that they should allow themselves to sink again into their earlier civilization and economy. Still less was it possible that they should revert to that ruder scale of living which, to the men of the early seventeenth century and to their successors, would have seemed little better than barbarism. Thus, on every side, the new desires and devices of modern life were riveted upon Europe's society, and thenceforth played their part in her economy and even in her politics.

Building

These altered standards were not confined to the highest classes alone, to royalty, the great nobles, or the clergy. What Pope and Spanish king had done in building a St. Peter's or an Escorial, the aristocracy did their best to imitate in castles, country and city houses. Even the burghers of the northern capitals did not lag far behind their splendid predecessors of the Italian city-states and their contemporaries of a higher rank. Guild-hall and market, mansion and counting-house rose among the humbler edifices of the trading towns in a new birth of architectural magnificence.

Among the alterations which the sixteenth century produced, especially in western Europe, none was more conspicuous than the development of the dwelling-house. As the demand for comfort grew and areas of strong government and relative peace increased, as the advance of artillery made it less possible for each man's house to be his castle, as the growth of royal authority discouraged more and more the construction of fortress-dwellings which might be centers of resistance to the king, the upper classes had turned to a different type of habitation. Feudal castle gradually gave way to manor-house and country-seat, to villa and château; while city mansions increased in numbers, convenience, and magnificence. Arrow-slits widened to windows glazed with leaded panes; rushes gave way to rugs upon the floors; rude arras to rich hangings. Tapestry shared the walls with pictures; plaster came to cover the bare stone; rude stools and benches, pallets or monumental beds gave way to lighter, more graceful, and more movable furniture.

Most of the arts had spread northward from Italy, and

Manners and costume

with them came minor refinements of scarcely less significance to the changing bases of European life. Manners improved with cooking and service, as plates replaced trenchers, while spoons, individual knives, and here and there a fork, took the place of dagger and fingers at meal-time. Habits of personal cleanliness made way; and, in the more civilized communities, soap became an article of manufacture and commerce, in some rare instances rivaling even perfumes. Methods of warfare altered even more. With the improvement of cannon and musket, full armor gradually gave way to helmet and breast-plate. The two-handed sword, the battle-ax and club, even the most deadly of mediæval weapons, the English long-bow, with its chief competitor, the Genoese cross-bow, became mere curiosities. This was accompanied by changes in costume. For, as the necessity for close-fitting clothes suited to wear beneath armor declined, men turned to other forms of dress. And though the name of that Columbus of tailors who first devised the masculine costume with which the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were familiar is lost to history, it is apparent that he probably lived in the years which followed the Spanish Armada.

The sixteenth century is scarcely less notable for a general advance in the facilities for production and the increasing use of the comforts and luxuries of every-day life than for its attention to the concerns of the spirit. What may well be called the material reformation of Europe is fully as evident as the ecclesiastical reformation during that period. In the field of metal-working the invention of stamp-mills to prepare the ore, the discovery of the so-called wet process of treatment of the powder so produced, the use of sieves, and, above all, the separation of gold and silver by the quicksilver method, completed a revolution in the recovery of precious metals. This added enormously to European resources, especially when introduced into the mining regions of the western world. Beside these the discovery of the art of coating iron with tin was of no small importance in the lesser affairs of existence. Most of these new processes were the result of German ingenuity; and to that people, or to the Netherlands, is attributed the adaptation of the loom to the weaving of ribbons. This was accompanied by another and still more important development, the art of knitting whose progress during the sixteenth century was crowned in the last years of that period by the invention of the stocking-loom. Than this, which is usually attributed to an Englishman, Lee, there is scarcely a single advance of more importance in material comfort since the introduction of silk and cotton to European markets, nor any so productive of alteration in costume and, in some measure, of habits and industry.

Wood-working

One other feature of the period just passing was no less remarkable. The art of carpentry or joinery, which in its higher branches was expressed in cabinet-making, took great strides during the same period. This was due in part to the increasing demand for better house-furnishings. But it was scarcely less owing to the progress in tool-manufacture. The sawmill, which replaced the older and peculiarly toilsome and unsatisfactory process of working out boards or "deals" by hand labor, had been gradually developed during the sixteenth century till it was now possible to cut several planks from a log at once. This, added to the improvements in the use of water or wind power, enormously facilitated the task of the wood-workers; while the development of the size, power, and uses of the turning-lathe aided them perhaps even more than their fellow-workers in metal. Beside these, still, in an allied field, the progress of the coach-makers had been no less remarkable. Those vehicles—which had earlier been confined to the use of women, sick persons, or great dignitaries—were now lightened, ornamented, and hung on springs of greatly superior arrangement and quality, and began to take their place among the necessities as well as the luxuries of life throughout Europe. Like every other refinement of existence, progress in mechanical art was greatly stimulated by printing; since the last half of the century saw for the first time manuals and diagrams of many varieties of methods and machinery for the use of artisans.

Education

In other fields the new bases of life were no less marked if somewhat less conspicuous. As the conflict of communions widened and deepened during the sixteenth century, each side had hastened to enter the educational field; and Catholic and Protestant schools alike had grown in numbers and in intellectual strength. From Jesuit Coimbra no less than from Calvinist Geneva, the impulse to found new seats of learning or reorganize and revive older establishments spread throughout the continent in the hands of the adherents of the rival schools of faith, and, joined to the humanistic movement which had preceded it, lent to education a new vigor and new direction.

Protestant universities

This was especially true in the Teutonic lands. England, beginning with Henry VIII's splendid foundations of Christ Church at Oxford and Trinity College at Cambridge, made great additions to her roll of collegiate foundations in both her universities during the Tudor period. Scotland, and even Ireland, with its Protestant establishment of Trinity College, Dublin, felt the same impulse; while in Germany the universities of Jena, Marburg, Königsberg, Helmstedt, and Altdorf, among others, testified to the same evangelizing spirit of the new communions. Finally Holland, at the height of her desperate struggle with Spain, found energy to establish at Leyden, in honor of the heroic resistance of that city, a faculty which was to become famous throughout the continent in the succeeding century. The Catholics went further still. For, apart from the rejuvenation of their older seats of learning, the religious orders established universities in Spanish Asia and America,—Lima, Mexico, Cordoba, Manila. And this movement, however ecclesiastical its origin, soon brought results in many other fields. Above all, while in other lands the progress of the Reformation and the national spirit tended toward a certain provincial and dogmatic spirit, the Italian universities retained or acquired a universality scarcely known elsewhere. In consequence, they became the goal of those who aspired to the best learning of the time, and the ranks of their faculties, no less than of their students, tended to attract the ablest and most enlightened men of the continent.

Meanwhile in both Protestant and Catholic establishments, whatever their service to their respective faiths, the emphasis on training men for secular pursuits insensibly augmented; as it became increasingly unnecessary for those who entered professional or public life to be in holy orders. Lay statesmen and officials became the rule rather than the exception, even in the most Catholic of states; for, with all Europe's absorption in the saving of its soul, the age of ecclesiasticism in secular affairs was passing rapidly. The changes thus taking place were indeed unequal in different quarters of Europe, conditioned as they were by the development of personal liberty. They were far more conspicuous in the north and west. Thus while serfdom still flourished in eastern Germany, Poland, and Muscovy, it was already dying out in France, and had long since vanished from English soil. In like degree, except for parts of Italy, the intellectual advance tended to follow the same lines as the development of commerce and the new communions, since in those vigorous societies now rising into eminence, the new ideas found a warmer welcome and a greater tolerance than in communities still dominated by the noble and the priest.

Secularization of society

Thus as the sixteenth century merged into the seventeenth Europe was being gradually transformed into a far more secular society than that which the early reformers found. The combined influence of the Renaissance and Reformation had now elevated and strengthened lay authority. Now in place of an all-powerful unity of faith and feudal rights came a new unity in diversity of interests and beliefs, which from that day to this has been the characteristic of the European world. This was due in chief measure to two elements—the increased demand for comforts and luxuries which bound this great society into the interdependence of its several parts for the material necessities of their more complex lives, and the intellectual movements which tended to build up a universal society, founded not on uniformity of belief but on community of knowledge. In such wise and under such impulses Europe, amid the incessant conflict of political and ecclesiastical rivalry, developed the germs of a new unity, at the same time that it set forward on new paths of material and intellectual adventure.

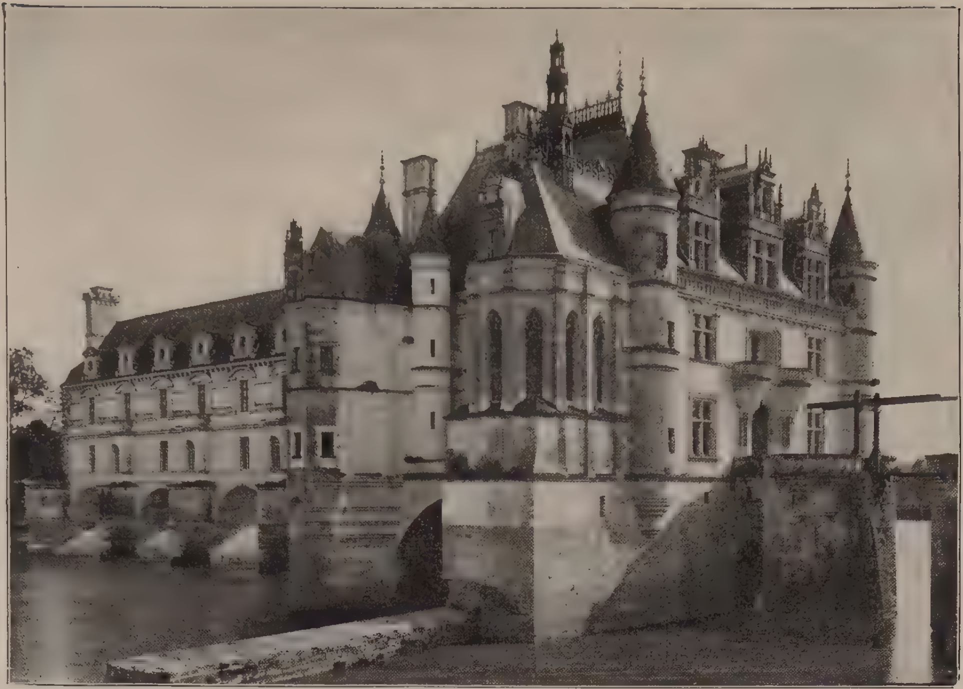
Printing

To this movement, as to all others in the intellectual field, the art of printing contributed. With the sixteenth century appeared the "text-book," or manual of instruction, whose name indicates its origin in those publications of classical or even Scriptural texts, which became the basis of a great part of education, then and since. The educational value of the printer's art was not confined to merely intellectual pursuits. From that stream of publication which began with Caxton's book on chess had flowed a multitude of manuals on almost every department of life—hawking and heraldry, building and decoration, gardening and husbandry, and, perhaps not the least, as indicative of the amelioration of the hardships of mediæval society, on cooking. With this went other activities difficult to classify, yet obviously related to the progress of Europe. Thus collections of pictures and books, the founding of galleries and libraries, came into evidence, and, in a somewhat different field, the establishment of botanical and zoölogical gardens with which, beginning in Italy, the great ones of the earth satisfied their curiosity no less than their love of display.

Letters

Besides these still, the closing years of the sixteenth century made their own contribution to the refinements of civilization. These were different, indeed, but not inferior even to those advances in the humanities and especially in the urbanities of life which the splendor of the artistic renaissance had contributed to the continent. For with all Europe's absorption in war and trade, religion and politics, there remained minds open to matters outside the province of all these, which busied themselves with concerns even more enduring than wealth or power. Amid the clash of faith and arms in France, Michel, Seigneur Montaigne, composed in the security of his Périgord château those *Essays* which have remained the delight of all succeeding generations. Filled with the spirit of classicism, the love of nature and of man, hatred of dogma and an irrepressible delight in mankind, its weakness and its strength, they not merely amused, they

1580



The Château of Chenonceaux.

Built during the 16th century; a beautiful type of French Renaissance architecture and not, like the buildings of an earlier period, adapted to defence.

helped to humanize the world. While Portugal's power declined, her greatest poet, the exiled Camoëns, began in his distant Asiatic prison the epic of the Portuguese heroic age, the *Lusiad,* which related the great deeds of Vasco da Gama 1571 and his successors. At the same time all Italy was ravished with the sonnets of Tasso, which soon inspired the continent to imitate a form of verse that thenceforth took high place in nearly every European literature. Meanwhile, his epic, *Jerusalem Delivered,* set him among the immortals of Italian 1574 poetry and even won for him the high though tardy recognition of the church authorities. Finally, as England emerged from the long coil of circumstance which hampered her entry into world-politics, the court of Elizabeth read with delight the young Edmund Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar,* 1579 fit prelude to that nobler burst of melody, the *Faerie Queene,* 1590 whose beauty adorned the years following the defeat of the Armada.

Painting

The other arts were not neglected in this stirring period when politics began another chapter of its ever-changing events and characters. The golden age of the Italian painters was past; the first great contributions of the Netherlands had been made; and the deaths of Holbein and Dürer, Titian and Michelangelo had left only such talents as those of Tintoretto and Paul Veronese to reflect the sunset glories of a greater school. But two arts now took on at once new beauty and new form. The first was architecture. During the mid-sixteenth century in those nations so diverse yet so closely connected in many ways throughout this period, England and Italy, there sprang up, almost simultaneously, two rival schools of the builder's art. The one was the neo-classic type, already begun in the hands of the Renaissance masters who had turned from Gothic models to those of the ancient world for their inspiration. Now, in the hands of Palladio, the classical influence began definitely to supersede the mediæval and renaissance forms in European taste, as the massive pillar, round arch and dome overpowered the more graceful Gothic forms, and the tower virtually disappeared from architecture for two centuries and more.

Architecture

In England, meanwhile, the combined effect of wealth and political change—the advance of comfort and luxury, with the impossibility of defense against improved artillery,—turned men to a neo-Gothic type. This, during the Tudor period, adapted the older form especially to the convenience of domestic use; and, before the classical style invaded northern lands, produced some of the most livable as well as the most beautiful examples of dwelling-houses which Europe had yet seen.

Glass and china

To the refinements of life another art contributed. In England and Germany glass-making, introduced from Italy, developed new methods and new forms no less useful than beautiful; and in France the genius and patience of the heroic Palissy drew from a thousand unsuccessful attempts the secret of making that delicate glazed pottery known to the East, and named from its chief source, china.

The drama and opera

But with all these manifestations of progress during the period which centered in the Armada, one rose to such sudden and, as it proved, such sustained eminence, that it became the prodigy of the age. This was the art of dramatic representation which, like architecture, found almost simultaneous expression in England and Italy. It was not new. No savage tribe but had rude elements of the drama among its religious or social rites; no nation of antiquity but had framed canons of tragedy or comedy, chorals or interludes. With the advent of the Greeks into the field of drama, the rude eclogue and pastoral which formed the earliest vehicles of this art, grew suddenly into the tragedy of Æschylus and Sophocles and Euripides, and the comedy of Aristophanes. These marked the climax of dramatic achievement in the ancient world, or, so far as those particular forms were concerned, of any time. Thence the decline was rapid and complete. The Roman imitations of the Greek drama were bad; the rude mystery and miracle plays of the middle ages were worse. And with all its progress in other fields, in the dramatic art the Europe of the early sixteenth century scarcely surpassed many of the half-civilized peoples whom its adventurers found and conquered. The Renaissance restored to her a portion of the

St. Peter's Church, Rome.

Greek masterpieces; but Greek drama made its way slowly into scholarship, more slowly still into literature, and not at all into stage-craft.

Music

The same was measurably true of music, inseparably connected with drama in the Greek conception. Its methods and its instruments, inherited or adapted from the past, improved but slowly through the period lying between the ancient and the modern world. The middle ages wrought the old "Pan's pipes" into a rude organ, whose sounds filled the hearts of its hearers at least with awe. Troubadours and minnesingers relied largely on the harp for their accompaniments. The bugle and trumpet, flute and hautboy, trombone or sackbut, with a few other forms, almost as old as European civilization itself, remained the chief wind instruments. From the viol the late Renaissance period began to evolve the violin in the hands of Italian instrument makers; and toward the close of the sixteenth century the Amati of Cremona began that improvement of this king of stringed instruments, which reached perfection a century later in the productions of their great pupil, Stradivarius.

Thus equipped by the instrument makers, the composers had gradually improved their craft. The rude elements of harmony known to the Greeks were slowly acquired and extended during the middle ages. The modern tetrachord took the place of the ancient hexachord. The scale was made to run up, not down; the so-called *discantus,* or two-part harmony, was introduced, and the art of counterpoint, or composite melody, was founded. By the close of the fifteenth century four-part writing had been achieved, with the variations from simple melody which were accomplished by such refinements as the so-called inversions, discords, and chromatics. The early part of the sixteenth century, in addition to the improvements made by sharps and flats, and what were known as accidentals and "passing notes," had seen the development of the staff, bars, and clefs. These, defining the older and looser notation, set music another and a greater step along the path which made it an "absolute art," not unrelated to mathematics. Much of this improvement was due to the Netherland school of musicians, which during this early period of musical evolution did most to introduce these innovations and give music its modern form. Thence the later Renaissance brought these newer developments into Italy, where, at Venice and Rome in particular, they were reinforced by an emotional element and the genius of another school of composers.

Palestrina and Monteverde

For the most part music had developed in the church, which found in its harmonies one of the chief agents of its mystical appeal. But secular music felt the same impulse and a variety of new forms, among which the madrigal was conspicuous, soon challenged the older and less pleasing as well as less flexible fashion of folk-songs and minstrel lays. The latter years of the sixteenth century gathered up the various threads of this long development, and two powerful influences combined to complete the change from mediæval to modern forms. The first was the work of the Vatican choir-master, Palestrina, the last and greatest of the mediævalists. The second was that of the Cremonese composer, Monteverde, who, breaking away from the so-called polyphonic forms in which Palestrina excelled, turned his attention to freer melody and more worldly activities. He adapted his scores to dramatic purposes, and associated his talents with that movement which by the fourth decade of the seventeenth century, under his direction, had established in Venice the first European opera-house. Nor were the Protestant communions slow to enlist music on their side. For the long list of their hymn writers, beginning with Luther, allied with their composers, of whom "the Protestant Palestrina," Lassus, was chief, rivaled the Roman harmonists, and injected the element of choral or congregational singing into European life.

1637

The playwrights

Such were the beginnings of a new art which was to spread with great rapidity throughout the European world. It had an ally. While Italy had led the way to the final development of melody and the opera, she had done scarcely less for the drama. This in her hands, and in those of the other peoples, followed or accompanied her progress in the new field of operatic representation. The growing class of story-tellers and scholars who owed a great part of their inspiration to the Renaissance was, indeed, quick to find other channels than the medium of narrative literature for the expression of its talents. That curious fraternity of strolling players who, during the later middle ages, in particular, had amused Europe at fairs and feast days, was not slow to take advantage of the opportunities presented by the altering spirit of the times. They turned from the folk-comedy and the religious mystery-play which had been their chief stock in trade to other forms of representation, drawn from the incidents of the life about them or from the rich treasures which the story-tellers and the classical scholars had collected. Among them, in consequence, there sprang up a school of play-writers, soon recruited by literary aspirants who saw in the drama of life a field for talent till then absorbed by other forms of prose and verse. The fashion grew no less by the activities of the writers than by the hold it took upon the public, which found in the new art a means of amusement peculiarly satisfying to its tastes. In many cities arose a system of resident companies, supplied from their own ranks or from outside sources with dramatic material,—stock companies, as they became known to a later age, strollers only upon occasion. And, as the fashion spread, the actor, the manager, and the playwright became recognized features of European society.

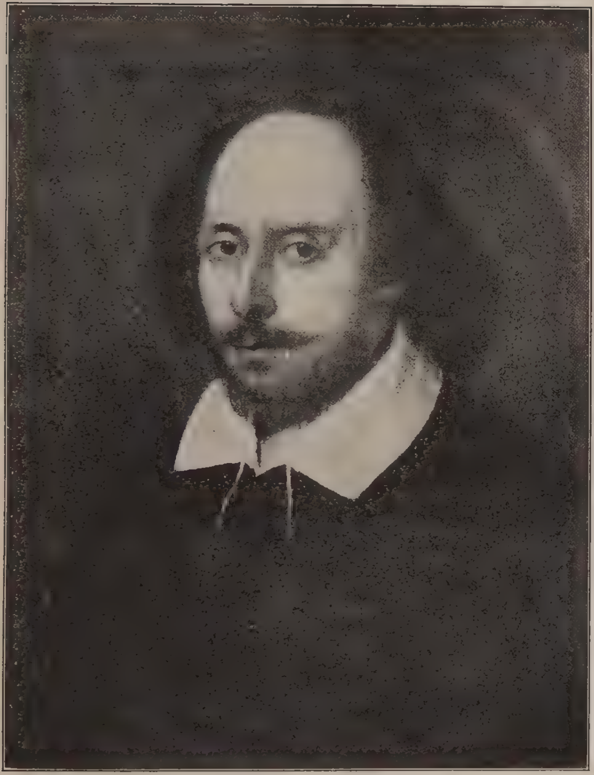
The Elizabethan drama

Nowhere was this movement destined to greater importance than in England, whose dramatic development became not merely a type but a model for the continent. There the new art fell into the hands of a brilliant group about the court of Queen Elizabeth, and by them it was extended and improved. Breaking with every tradition of the mediæval drama, they freed dramatic representation from the constricting forces which had kept it apart from the general literary progress of the continent, and set upon the stage those problems of human life and character in which the Greek playwrights had found material for their masterpieces.

As in the case of the early opera, classical influence, no less in subject than in treatment, was at first strongly in evidence. But the dramatists, like the composers and the librettists, soon broke away from the traditions instilled by the Renaissance and sought wider fields. From the works of men like Painter, who brought the rich treasures of Italian fiction to England, came one set of plots and characters. From the chronicles of men like Holinshed was derived another series of dramatic motives based on the history of England itself. A long array of legends, from Troy to Tamerlane, supplied a third; and from the life about them came the inspiration of a fourth, and, as it proved, the most enduring form of dramatic literature.

The development of the English drama was even more rapid than the rise of opera in Italy, to whose story-telling ability and whose culture England owed so much. With the sudden increase in wealth and luxury which accompanied the plundering of Spain and the growth of commerce in the last years of the sixteenth century, reinforced by the renaissance influences and the literary impulses proceeding from Italy, the Elizabethan court turned to adventures in the field of literature no less daring than those which it had undertaken in war and politics, and with no less brilliant success. Under noble and royal patronage, playhouses and companies of actors took their place in English life, playwrights and drama in the world of letters. Within a decade a new type of man had found a place in European society, the literary adventurer, and the earliest of these was the dramatist. Recruited from every rank of life, hard-living, free-thinking, filled with the fierce passion of creation, they founded not only a new profession but a department of letters. Among them one figure became pre-eminent. Greene, the creator of lighter English prose; Marlowe, whose genius revolutionized the stage with his *Tamburlane, Faustus,* and *The Jew of Malta;* Kyd, Jonson, and their fellows yielded to the supreme talents of the country-bred actor-manager-playwright, William Shakespeare. In him at last the modern world found a figure worthy to set beside the greatest of the ancients. And, among the minor coincidences of human affairs, it may

Shakespeare 1564-1616



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

The Chandos portrait.

be observed that the death of Calvin and the birth of Shakespeare in the same year, 1564, symbolize, in a sense, the changes which overtook Europe between the beginning and the end of the sixteenth century.

Following the fashion of the time, begun by Surrey and Wyatt, who had introduced Italian forms of verse into England, and influenced scarcely less by Florio, who had translated Montaigne, the young poet had first turned his attention to such studies. His earliest essays in the new world of letters reflected the influence of the Italian school of romantic drama which had inspired his predecessors and his contemporaries. But besides the cycle of plays whose scene was laid in Italy there was material nearer to his hand; and in the tragedies of English history he found the stuff from which many of his most successful works were drawn. Almost from the first his talents were recognized. For it is not surprising that the London of Elizabeth, filled with the profit and the pride of conquest, no less than with the exaltation of spirit which accompanied England's sudden revelation of her strength, saw in this playwright the representative of all that was greatest in the nation whence he sprung, or that ten thousand persons flocked to see his first great drama in a month. And as his genius went from strength to strength, by the time of the death of Elizabeth the Warwickshire playwright stood forth as the commanding literary genius of the European world.

Spain —Lope de Vega and Cervantes

Spain alone, of all Europe in this epoch, produced a rival, and even her men of genius were scarcely to be reckoned with the great Englishman. To one of them, the soldier, Lope de Vega, who had fought at Lepanto and with the Armada, remains the proud distinction of having written some two thousand plays, and thus having achieved the eminence of superlative prolific industry in the field of literary production. But to another belongs the honor of a work which, though inferior to the many-sided genius of Shakespeare, still challenges his popularity and, like the writings of Montaigne, gave literature a new form. This was Miguel Cervantes, who, wounded at Lepanto, turned to letters for a livelihood and, forsaking the drama, to which, like all Europe, 1604-5 he had first been attracted, brought forth the marvelous tale of *Don Quixote.* Half humor and half satire, this first of the great romances of modern time, gave the death-blow to the fast-fading chivalry of his native land and laughed it out of existence. At the same moment that England and Spain reached the height of their literary rivalry with the productions of Shakespeare and Cervantes, in the twelvemonth following the death of Elizabeth, the two great forms of literature which affected the modern world so powerfully were firmly fixed. And as Europe turned to other tasks, her way was lightened if not illumined by her old friend Romance, which, whether in drama or opera or novel, was to accompany her thenceforth through all her wanderings in these new forms. With Cervantes, Spain's literary greatness ended, for the time. But from the nation which saw *Hamlet* at the same moment that *Don Quixote* found its way to print, there flowed a broadening stream of prose and verse. This, if it never reached the dramatic heights attained by Shakespeare, found other forms of expression which made England the mother of the richest of all modern European literatures.

Italy In this great revolution one feature was conspicuous. It was the altered position of Italy. Already Vasari had begun his monumental work on the *Lives of the Painters.* If it were not enough to show that the great artistic age of Italy was past when men began to write its history, the death of Veronese in the Armada year eclipsed the last star in the splendid galaxy of Italian artists. And the completion of St. Peter's church at Rome in the concluding decade of the 1590-1600 sixteenth century marked at once the culmination and the close of the great burst of neo-Christian art which had illumined Europe with the glory of the Renaissance. Nor was it without significance that the newer school of architecture abandoned the aspiring arches of the mediæval Gothic forms, and, under the influence of Palladio, reverted to those classical models whose influence dominated the ensuing century. At the same time that artistic pre-eminence disappeared from Italy and political domination fell from the

Miguel Cervantes.

hands of Spain, the last of the immortals of Italian poetry, the last interpreter of the mediæval spirit, Torquato Tasso, died. The Portuguese Camoëns had already sung the vanished glories of his land's heroic age. The Spanish Cervantes wrote the great ironic epitaph of his country's misguided chivalry in *Don Quixote.* Each was symbolic of the time in which it fell. Each was the swan-song of the supremacy of its people in arts as arms. For as the spring of painting and literature lessened in the south, it had sprung with fresh vigor in the rising powers of the north, where England took the place in letters which had been held by Italy, and Holland was presently to rival her in art. 1595

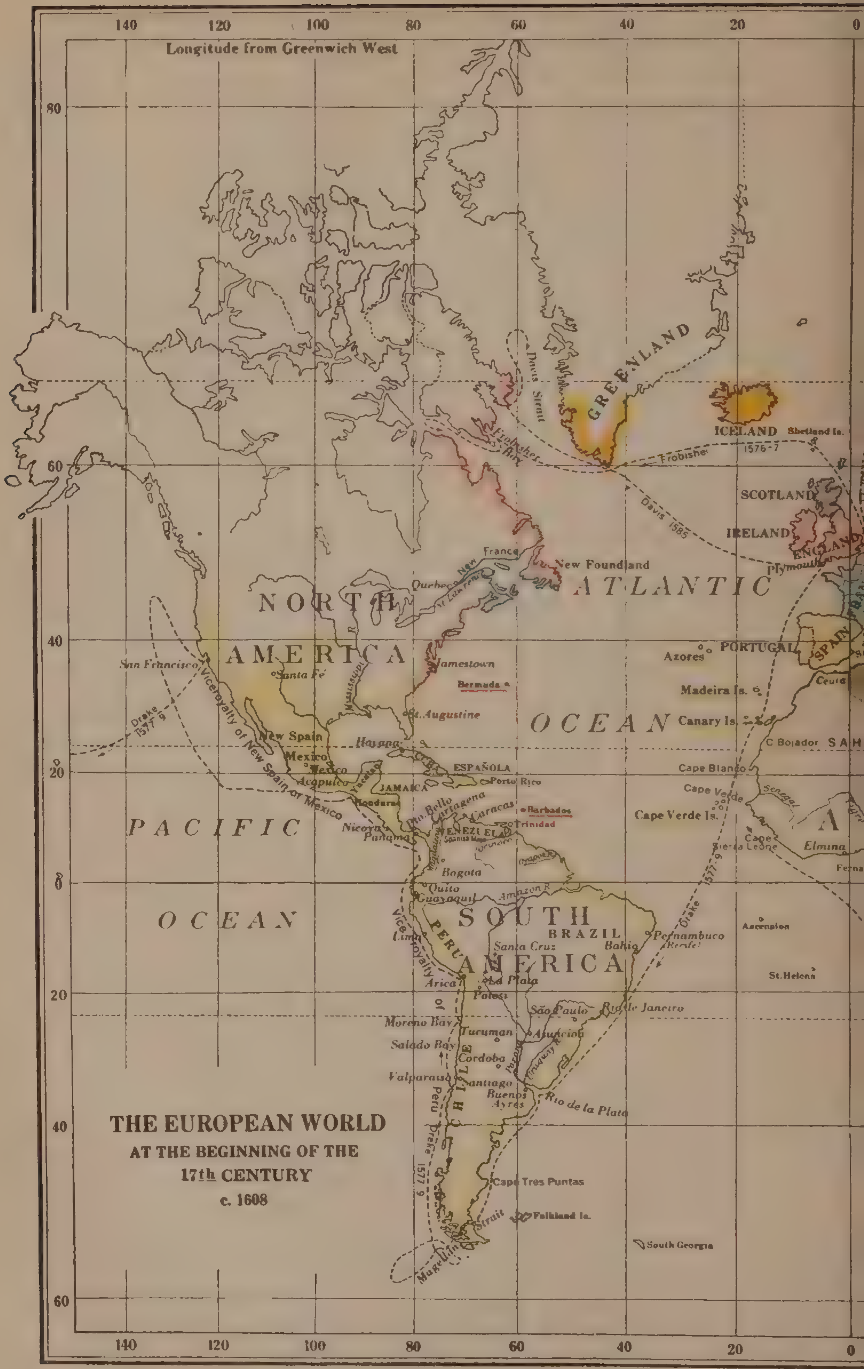
Her position at the close of the 16th century

The Italian peninsula, indeed, was to retain for many years a reputation which drew men of all nations to study and admire the relics of her classical antiquity, and still more those achievements which for two centuries had made her pre-eminent in every field of intellectual endeavor, in politics as in painting, in scholarship as in diplomacy, in engineering as in literature. Long after she ceased to lead she continued to instruct the continent. Rome, though shorn of half her spiritual dominion, remained the mistress not alone of the Catholic world but of the imagination of all Europe. Venice, "a shell on the shores of the Adriatic, deserted by the wonderful organism which once inhabited it," could still reveal the wonders of her declining greatness to the inquiring traveler. The splendor of the Medicean court had faded; but Italian universities remained the goal of European students. And the polish of the most refined society in Europe, the skill of craftsmanship engendered by long generations of artists and artisans, the lessons and traditions of statecraft and letters, commerce, mechanics, and administration, with all the refinements of life, remained to spread their influence throughout the rest of the continent.

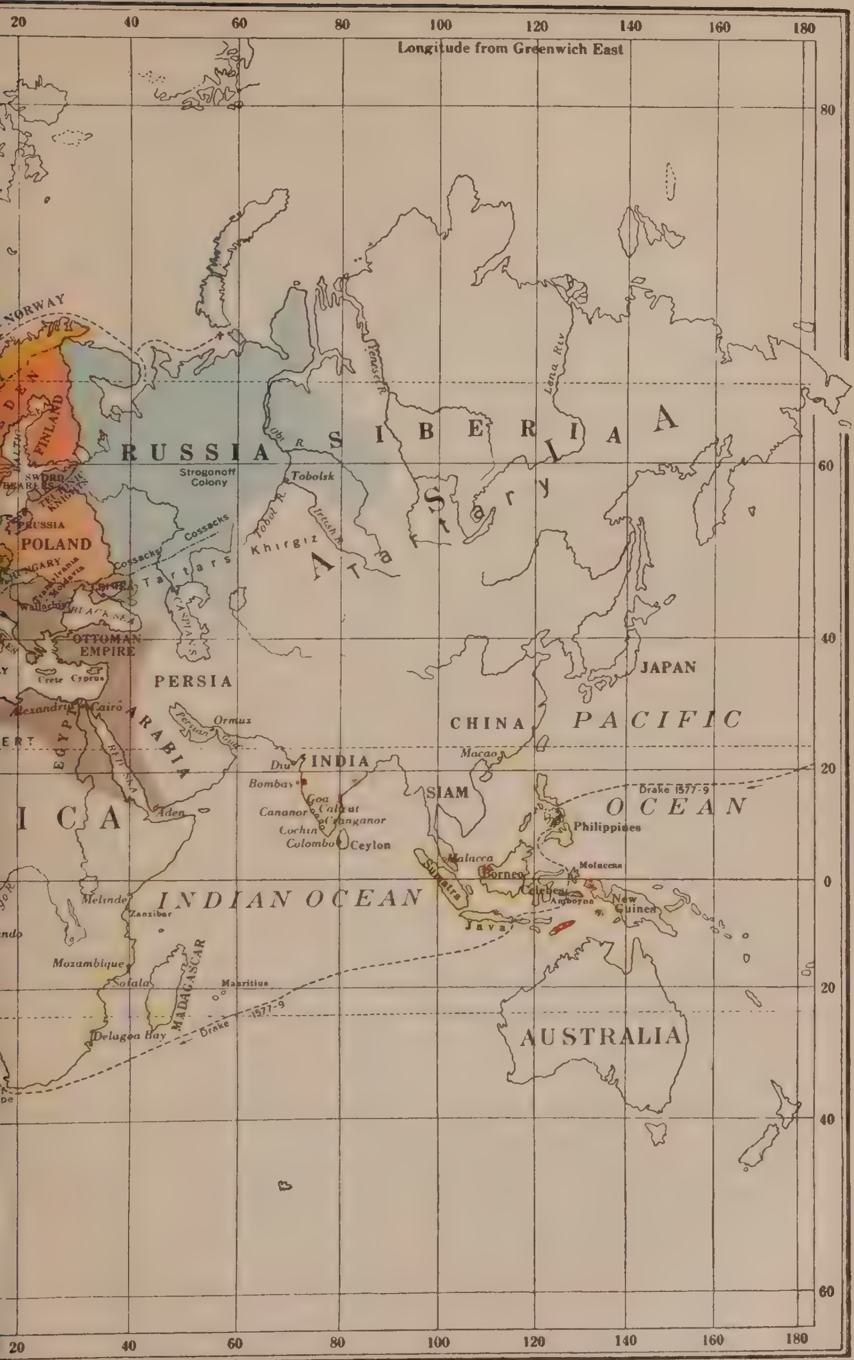
Yet withal, save in the fields of music and of science, creative genius waned in Italy, as in southern Europe generally. Like power, wealth, and enterprise it sought the freer northern air, where political liberty had already found refuge. The triumph of the spirit of the Inquisition; the

Its cause

increasing authority of learned, devout, but reactionary forces like the Jesuits; the narrower if stronger ideals of the Vatican, which marked the victory of the Counter-Reformation in southern Europe, were all against an intellectual development on the lines which were to be the dominating element in the next advance. It was evident that, unless this could be changed, the Mediterranean world had exhausted its intellectual as well as its political mandate. One force remained—the numerous academies which sprang up in the old centers of thought and action in the peninsula, and thence spread through the continent their encouragement of the new scientific spirit which now made such headway in European thought. These were, however, outside the pale of the official and ecclesiastical influence. Though Galileo, the founder of physics, and Bruno, the prophet of modern politics, were both Italians, Galileo's theories and Bruno's life were sacrificed to the principle of conformity, and the two rising forces of a modern world, science and popular government, found their chief enemies among the same classes which for two centuries had been the patrons of the Renaissance.



THE EUROPEAN WORLD
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE
17th CENTURY
c. 1608


Longitude from Greenwich East
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40
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NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
BALTIC
SWORD BEARERS
TEUTONIC KNIGHTS
PRUSSIA
POLAND
HUNGARY
Transylvania
Moldavia
Wallachia
CRIMEA
BLACK SEA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Crete
Cyprus
Alexandria
Cairo
EGYPT
DESERT
RED SEA
AFRICA
RUSSIA
Strogonoff Colony
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Cossacks
Tartars
CASPIAN S.
Obi R.
Tobolsk
Tobol R.
Irtish R.
Khirgiz
Yenesei R.
Lena Riv.
SIBERIA
Tartary
PERSIA
ARABIA
Persian Gulf
Ormuz
Aden
INDIA
Diu
Bombay
Goa
Cananor
Calicut
Cranganor
Cochin
Colombo
Ceylon
CHINA
Macao
SIAM
Malacca
Sumatra
Borneo
Java
Celebes
Amboyna
Moluccas
Philippines
New Guinea
JAPAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
Drake 1577-9
INDIAN OCEAN
Melinde
Zanzibar
Mozambique
Sofala
MADAGASCAR
Mauritius
Delagoa Bay
Drake 1577-9
AUSTRALIA

CHAPTER XVII

THE RISE OF HOLLAND. 1603-1623

The change in rulers

The death of the English queen, Elizabeth, marks with peculiar emphasis a turning-point of European politics. For forty years her duel with Philip II had been a leading motive of international affairs; and, after the Armada year, she had become, in many ways, the most conspicuous ruler in Christendom. **1594-1604** With her departure from the scene, England, like Spain after the death of Philip, declined from the exalted position which she had occupied in the concerns of Europe. That leadership fell to other hands. Neither the aging astrologer-emperor Rudolf, nor the weak Philip III of Spain, nor James VI of Scotland, who, uniting Britain for the first time under one crown, became James I of England, compared in influence or ability with another king who now took the center of the stage. This was Henry IV of France, who, after the long years of war and intrigue which made up French history during the latter half of the sixteenth century, had ascended the throne on the death of Henry III the year after the Armada. He became king in fact as well as name five years thereafter, by his abjuration of Protestantism and the consequent submission of the Catholic party. In his hands France showed reviving strength, and with the Edict of Nantes, which gave the Huguenots virtual tolerance and political equality, the nation began to play its part in the European drama.

So far as merely military events go to make history, the decade and a half which followed the death of the English queen was a barren epoch. But one considerable conflict, the continuance of the war between Spain and her rebellious provinces, disturbed the peace of the western continent, while only the struggle between Sweden and her enemies broke the quiet of the East. But in those deeper concerns of human affairs which center in the transition from one form of polity and society to another, it was a most eventful period; and in the activities of Europeans outside the confines of the continent it was a decisive epoch in the history of the world.

Henry IV 1553-1610 In these events Henry IV and his minister, Sully, played a great part. The deep scars of civil war were healed as far as possible by a series of adroit compromises which had been begun with Henry's conversion and the Edict of Nantes. The king's title to the crown had been further assured by his marriage to Marie de Medici, and the house of Bourbon thus established on a throne which it was to hold for nearly two centuries. Finance was reformed, trade encouraged, a sound basis laid for royal authority and national prosperity alike, and the old colonizing projects of Coligni revived. Beyond this still, Henry dreamed of a ''Great Design,''—a Christian federation of western Europe, based on his alliances with the Protestant rulers within the Empire and the support of England and the Netherlands, to secure a balance of power making for universal peace. That dream, like his more practical project of breaking the Hapsburg strength by war and diplomacy, was cut short by an assassin's dagger.
1610 Seven years after the death of Elizabeth, France fell again into the hands of a queen-mother. Sully was dismissed. The
1614 States General were suspended,—as events were to prove, for a century and three-quarters,—and a decade of royal minority, Catholic regency, and Huguenot disturbance, intrigue, and civil war ensued before another statesman arose to set the kingdom again in the forefront of European politics.

Gustavus Adolphus 1594-1632 Meanwhile the East produced a ruler not incomparable to the French king as a power in continental affairs. While France felt the reaction following the death of Henry IV, the accession of Michael Romanoff as Czar of Muscovy ended the anarchy which had followed the extinction of the house of Rurik fifteen years before. But the advent of the family which has held the Russian throne from that day to our
1611 own was singularly unpropitious. Two years before Michael I assumed the crown, Sweden had declared war upon

Denmark; and the young Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus, had proved himself a terrible enemy. Under his leadership, ably seconded by the talents of his chancellor, Oxenstierna, the Danes were beaten and compelled to an unfavorable peace. Immediately the Swedish arms were turned against Russia, with such effect that Ingria and Karelia, with the 1614 key-fortresses of Finland and Livonia, fell into the hands of Gustavus. Sweden became the foremost power of the north, well on the way to the control of all the Baltic shores and a position among the first-rate European states. Russia, shut off from access to the sea, was, for the time being, correspondingly depressed in the international scale; and the young Swedish king stood out as a factor to be reckoned with for the future, a fit successor to Elizabeth and Henry of Navarre as the leading figure among the rulers of Europe.

The Empire

It was not without significance that all three were members of the Protestant communion, into whose hands had passed the initiative in European affairs after the death of Philip II. Neither the German nor the Spanish branch of the house of Hapsburg at this juncture revealed qualities of wisdom or of strength. In the German Empire as in the Spanish Netherlands the chief features of its rule were the decline of its authority and continuance of conflict. Meanwhile central Europe, as the long reign of Rudolf wore to a close, found itself 1611-12 again disturbed by the breakdown of the Peace of Augsburg, which, with all its faults, had insured to Germany half a century of uneasy peace. Now, however, the ambitions of the rival sects and rulers brought on evil days for which all the Emperor's learning and his skill in astrology could find no cure.

The chief difficulty arose from the spread of Protestantism and the relation between religion and politics. These portended a trial of strength between the two communions, and, no less, between the imperial power and that of the lesser rulers within the Empire. Four years after the death of 1607 Elizabeth, the seizure of the city of Donauwörth by the Catholics to avenge an insult to their faith seemed likely to precipitate a conflict. But peace was patched up and the reign of Rudolf ended without a general appeal to arms. Yet it was apparent that the struggle was only delayed. A Protestant Union was formed under the leadership of Frederick IV, Elector Palatine, the son-in-law of William the Silent, and a Catholic League headed by Maximilian of Bavaria was organized almost immediately to oppose the Protestant alliance. Little by little the relations between the parties which these bodies represented were strained to the breaking-point. As Matthias succeeded Rudolf the antagonism deepened; and as he, in turn, made ready his departure from the throne, the smoldering enmity flamed into war.

1608

1609

The progress of Protestantism and the Counter-Reformation

It is not surprising that conflict seemed inevitable to the men who embarked upon the trial of strength between the two communions. In the century which had elapsed since Luther had nailed his ninety-five theses against indulgences to the door of the Wittenberg castle church, the struggle between the old faith and the new had gone on with scarcely an intermission. For though the various diplomatic settlements, of which the greatest was the Peace of Augsburg, had prevented much armed strife, no one recognized them as a final determination of the great problem then filling the minds and hearts of the people of the continent. Throughout Europe, particularly in France and Germany, Protestantism had made its way from town to town, from province to province, congregation by congregation encroaching on the old establishment. In France it had achieved the accession of Henry of Navarre and the Edict of Nantes. In Germany it had converted whole districts and their rulers. And in each, against the bitter opposition of the Catholics, it had perfected an organization to maintain itself and forward its interests. On the other hand, the forces of the Counter-Reformation had been no less active. In France and Germany they had founded Catholic Leagues; and while Henry had ascended the throne of France it had been at the price of his adherence to the ancient faith. In Poland the energies of the Jesuits had set bounds to the progress of Lutheran doctrines. In southern Europe the new heresy had been effectually crushed out; and in outlying districts like Ireland it had made no headway. The union of the Flemish and Dutch Netherlands had been dissolved and the former had been won back to Spain and held to their old faith. While the imperial authority had grown increasingly orthodox under the influence of the Jesuits until the accession of Ferdinand brought to the throne a man of their own making, the Catholic forces in the central powers had become more and more aggressive in their attitude toward the heretics. These, in turn, by virtue of their successes, had asserted their rights more and more vigorously.

Bohemia Nowhere was the issue more acute than in Bohemia. There the teachings of Huss had taken deep root and the majority of the people were now Protestant. The crown was nominally elective, the Czechs tenacious of their privileges, and, during the disturbances of preceding years, they had managed to secure so-called Letters of Majesty, which guaranteed them the exercise of their faith. 1609 As a result that faith had flourished. Even where it had been unable to replace Catholicism entirely, it had often effected compromise, and made an arrangement by which men, following the peculiar system inaugurated by Huss, were permitted to take communion in both kinds; and these Utraquist congregations, as they were called, had multiplied.

To more tolerant minds than those of the early seventeenth century such a compromise might well seem the best solution of a vexed problem. Yet it was far from satisfying those who saw the foundations of belief thus undermined, and it became an aggravation rather than a palliative of the situation. In the face of Protestant progress the Catholic minority in Bohemia had drawn together into a party which, supported by the Hapsburg house, formed a powerful factor in affairs. When the deposition of Rudolf brought 1611 Matthias to the throne, one of his earliest acts was to forbid the completion of a Utraquist church for whose erection permission had already been obtained. The Protestant Estates protested and the edifice was built. But the new Emperor ordered it closed, and in this breach of the Letters of Majesty he was supported by the Catholic element. The controversy became acute with the destruction of another Protestant church and the appointment of Catholic governors in seven of the ten districts of the principality. And when the Catholic town council of Prague asserted its right to pass upon the qualifications of parish priests, and so control the faith of the capital, the storm burst. 1618 The so-called Defensors, headed by Matthias of Thurn, projected a Protestant revolt. In the so-called "defenestration of Prague" two of the Catholic governors of Bohemia were thrown from the windows of the council chamber. The aid of the Protestant Union was invoked; a provisional government was set up; and with the arrival of troops from the Union, and the forces of Silesia and Lusatia under John George of Jägerndorf, the conflict began to take form. The Bohemians found allies. Savoy loaned them a general, Count Mansfeld, with two thousand mercenaries, and the ruler of Transylvania, Bethlen Gabor, renounced allegiance to Austria and prepared for war.

The Thirty Years' War

Under such auspices began the reign of Ferdinand II, now head of the Hapsburg lands in all but name. His claim to the Bohemian throne was repudiated by the rebellious Protestants, who chose Frederick V, Elector Palatine, for their king. 1618 A twelvemonth to a day from the action of the Prague town council he was crowned; and central Europe embarked on the most desolating conflict in her history.

"A winter-king," the Jesuits declared, on the election of Frederick to the Bohemian throne; but their prophecy was not immediately fulfilled. Led by Mansfeld and Thurn, aided by the Margrave, John George of Brandenburg-Jägerndorf, and Bethlen Gabor's diversion against Hungary—whose titular "prince" he now became—the Bohemians drove the Imperialists before them to the walls of Vienna, and only a Polish invasion of Transylvania, which broke up the Protestant combination, saved the capital.

1619 Upon the death of Matthias, Ferdinand became Emperor in name and fact, and bending his whole resources against Bohemia, the tide began to turn, with help from Spain, Bavaria, and the Lutheran Elector of Saxony. Spinola poured his Spaniards from the Netherlands into the ill-fated Palatinate. John George of Saxony subdued Silesia and Lusatia, and Maximilian of Bavaria, with the forces of the Catholic League under Tilly, united with the Imperialists in Bohemia.

The defeat of the Protestants 1621

There, just outside the walls of Prague, they joined battle with Frederick's army under Christian of Anhalt, and crushed Protestant hopes in the ensuing defeat of the White Hill. Frederick, put under the ban of the Empire, found refuge in Holland. His lands, with those of Christian and John George of Brandenburg, were confiscated. Bohemia was subdued, its charter repealed; and Protestantism was rooted out in all the Hapsburg lands so far as possible. As Catholic and Imperialist made their triumphant way through Germany the Protestant Union was dissolved; and the Palatinate was conquered by Tilly despite the desperate resistance of Mansfeld and Christian of Anhalt. Maximilian of Bavaria was rewarded for his aid by the upper Palatinate, and the electoral title which had been Frederick's; while the Elector of Saxony was granted Lusatia in pledge for his services. Thus, in total disaster to the Protestant cause, ended five years of fierce conflict which formed the first period of the German war. **1623**

England —James I 1603-25

These events were accompanied by others of less ultimate consequence, but of much immediate importance. In Holland a revolution which coincided with the outbreak of the German war cost Oldenbarneveldt his place and his life, and made Maurice of Nassau Stadtholder of the United Netherlands. A Huguenot rising under Condé in France, and a Spanish conspiracy in Italy disturbed the peace of these peoples at the same moment. And, in a very different fashion than that which had marked the reign of Elizabeth, England had become a noteworthy figure in European affairs during the course of the events which led to war in Germany. Its most remarkable characteristic was the reversal of the Elizabethan policy. The royal pedant who ascended the throne upon the great queen's death, James the Pacific, "the wisest fool in Christendom,'' as Sully declared, had entered on a course in foreign and domestic concerns, marked neither by shrewdness nor success, but destined to the gravest consequence. Among his earliest acts was peace with Spain. For, obsessed by the absurd delusion that he could somehow compose Europe's deep-seated antagonisms by mere diplomacy, he entered on a long series of negotiations which made England, in no long time, a negligible factor in Europe's affairs. Meanwhile he antagonized the powerful Puritan and commercial elements among his own subjects; oppressed the Nonconformists or drove them from the land. He disorganized finance by his assumption of the right to tax without consent of Parliament; and weakened royal authority no less by bitter quarrels with the Commons over his pretensions to absolutism than by unkingly qualities which forfeited the popular respect. Learned, disputatious, obstinate, timid, he seemed equally incapable of meeting or averting the dangers thickening about his office and his faith; while his petty intellectualism and his pretension to prerogatives from whose assumption even Elizabeth had shrunk, proved a poor substitute for Tudor governance.

Failure of James' policy

His motto was that beatitude which extols the virtues of peacemakers. But the times were unpropitious for a doctrine of nonresistance, nor were his methods adapted to attain his ends, however satisfying they were to his sense of intellectual superiority. It is true that while on every hand Europe was torn with conflict, England remained at peace. But it was peace without honor, and only in name. Through all the catastrophe to Protestantism the supine English king, infatuated with his belief in his own shrewdness and flattered by his weak favorites, saw the collapse of the faith he held, his son-in-law dethroned, his daughter a fugitive, firm in the absurd conviction that he could arrest by his diplomacy the triumphant power of Catholic Imperialism. His more clear-sighted Parliament—infuriated scarcely less by his fatuous complacency than by the conquest of the Palatinate—voted to support Frederick, and petitioned James against the marriage which he projected between his son and the Spanish

Infanta, as a solution for the recovery of his son-in-law's dominions. The quarrel came to open breach. The king, having defied the laws of common-sense and the will of his people, was confronted with a Great Protestation of the Commons, which asserted the right of Parliament to a voice in state affairs even against the opinion of the crown. It was in vain that James tore the offending page from the Commons' journal with his own hand, imprisoned the popular leaders, and sent his son to Spain to urge his suit in person. The unprecedented journey was as vain as it was foolish, and the young prince, humiliated by his experience, returned at the moment that his brother-in-law's fortunes collapsed, to find his father all but openly defied by Parliament. 1621

The Netherlands and Spain

Such were the events which introduced Europe into a new chapter of her history in the two decades following the death of Queen Elizabeth. Save for the reorganization of France and the germs of progress which lay in the English situation, they were chiefly destructive; and had the development of Europe been confined to continental politics, these decades might well be reckoned a backward step in the world's history. But while ambitious rulers and zealous statesmen strove for advantage to themselves or to their faith, while the most fertile parts of Germany were ravaged by alien mercenaries, there had proceeded that conflict between Spain and the Dutch, inherited from the preceding generation. Upon it hung the fate of the rebellious Netherlands, and, in some sort, that of her great antagonist. With it the European rivalries were carried to the farthest regions of the earth, while at home it had become a school of war for half Europe. Siege and counter-siege had filled the history of that narrow borderland between the Dutch and Spanish Netherlands for nearly forty years, though with the defeat of the Armada it became increasingly evident that Spain's chances of recovering her lost provinces were waning steadily.

1598-1621 The accession of Philip III only served to emphasize the decline of Spanish power. Like the English king, he was dominated by his favorites, the Duke of Lerma and his son; his nation was weakened by a fatal foreign policy and the incessant wars to which it led, as well as by a declining industry and a false economy. Spain still aspired to play a great part in Europe; intrigued in Italy, fought the Dutch, and lent assistance to the German Catholic and Hapsburg powers. She was still able to deceive the English king. But when, with the foundation of the Dutch East India Company, the conflict took a wider range, it became apparent, to Spain's principal antagonists at least, that the nation which had so lately aspired to dominate European politics and faith was hard pressed to compete with the Netherlands alone. In their struggle for independence and commercial supremacy there had rested the chief importance of international affairs in the years between the death of Elizabeth and the outbreak of the German war.

The colonial conflict

That conflict, like the Anglo-Spanish rivalry a generation earlier, involved far wider interests than those of continental Europe. For the Dutch undertook to finish what the English had begun, and in their resistance to Spanish domination they not merely fought Spain along their own frontiers and weakened her efforts to assist the Catholic cause in Germany, but they carried the conflict to the most distant quarters of her empire. In consequence, besides the outbreak of war in central Europe, and the antagonism between the English crown and Parliament, the first decades of the seventeenth century witnessed a struggle for commercial and colonial supremacy, which rivaled even the efforts to maintain religious liberty in Germany and political liberty in England, and was not without its influence upon each.

The Dutch conquest of the East

The initial success of the Dutch was rapid and complete. In the four years which followed the death of Elizabeth as many fleets found their way to the East, where from the Cape of Good Hope to the Isles of Spice the Portuguese were forced to fight for the retention of their factories and trade. Three years after Elizabeth's death one of the decisive naval combats of history destroyed a Spanish-Portuguese fleet at Malacca and left control of eastern waters in Dutch hands. A twelvemonth later, another Spanish fleet was overwhelmed by the sea-power of the Netherlands at Gibraltar; and the

1606-7

Atlantic, like the Indian Ocean, was thus cleared of obstructions to the Dutch trading fleets' passage to the East. While the talents of Oldenbarneveldt and Maurice of Nassau held back the Spanish arms on land, Holland became the virtual mistress of the Spanish seas; and, two years after the battle of Gibraltar, compelled her nominal suzerain to a cessation of hostilities. That so-called Twelve Years' Truce determined, **1609** to all intents, her status and her future. Thus, while her neighbors were disturbed with civil quarrels, the Netherlands, with all their disadvantages, building upon their successes over Spain, secured their place in world trade and polity.

The Dutch Revolution

But as their merchants took advantage of the situation thus created, their statesmen and divines improved the opportunity to fall out among themselves, and the decade which followed the signature of the Twelve Years' Truce was filled with civil and religious discords. The theologians had divided into two factions whose animosities were as bitter as only theological disputes can be. The new controversy over predestination between Arminian and Gomarist, as the rivals were called from their respective leaders, was transformed into quarrels over toleration and civil supremacy. Maurice of Nassau, who frankly said he never knew whether his predestination was blue or green, found himself opposed to Oldenbarneveldt. A *coup d'état* placed in power the Contra Remonstrants to whom the prince belonged. The Advocate was hurried to judicial murder; and in the first twelvemonth of the German war Maurice became the sovereign of the **1618-19** United Netherlands in all but name. Such were the earliest fruits of the search for ultimate theological truth which accompanied the virtual independence of the Netherlands.

Had Spain, in this juncture, revealed even a portion of the strength she had possessed a generation earlier, she might have improved the years of the great truce to make her position more secure. To that end one thing was imperative, the reconstruction of her naval power. The Dutch, indeed, were compelled to defend their narrow land against their late masters if they were to make good their place in European polity. But the defense of their frontiers was not enough. To their minds the sea was at once their element and their opportunity, the field of commerce and of colonies their real inheritance. Without this even their hard-won independence at home was but a barren gift, their future not only empty of the power and wealth they coveted, but wholly insecure. It was upon their sea-power they relied as well for the profits which it brought as for the offensive warfare which should compel their opponent to terms. In consequence, from the Caribbean to Celebes their fleets harassed the Spanish power with ever-increasing violence. To them might well have been applied the old motto of Bremen: "It is necessary to navigate, it is not necessary to live."

Spain

After the shock of the Armada, the succeeding onslaughts of English and Dutch, and the disastrous defeats of Malacca and Gibraltar, Spain found herself all but powerless against this fierce and well-sustained attack. Her government seemed equally incapable of retrieving or averting catastrophe. Weakened by the incessant drain of her foreign policy and by consequent bankruptcy, the mediocre talents of her rulers were unable to rouse her underlying strength, bring order out of chaos, or awake ability from indurated pride of rank and birth. Her centralized control, her aristocratic temper, her clerical and official rigidity, her repression of initiative, left small room for that individual enterprise which had become the heart and soul not only of the new colonial forces but of commerce and the politics which flowed from them. At home her popular liberties and her economic strength had long since decayed. Her Cortes had been finally dissolved by Charles V; and those provincial privileges which survived its extinction had gradually lost whatever power they had once possessed to influence policy. Besides the collapse of her mastery of the ocean and her monopoly of the knowledge of the seaways, her docks and harbors were ruined by neglect, her navy only a memory of its recent greatness. In consequence the story of her possessions abroad became scarcely more than that of weakening defense against the Anglo-Dutch attack. And, had her power been confined to the peninsula, or had her activity been bounded by the abilities of her rulers, she might well have been eliminated from world politics.

In one direction especially she was weak. Great as were the triumphs of official voyages and far-sounding victories—of which history, perforce, takes chief account—the greatest conquests in the world of commerce, however dependent upon arms, were won by individual enterprise. Nameless traders with their little ships, sailing wherever in the world there was hope of profit, coasting from port to port, stretching across from Africa to America and back, threading their way among the islands east and west, exchanging European goods for ivory or slaves, and these for gold, tobacco, sugar, hides, spices, or dyes,—these were the omnipresent agents of expansion, no less powerful because their names were not emblazoned on the page of history. Such were the means by which slaves first found their way to Virginia and English and Dutch goods were introduced to South America. And such were the means, added to the organized trading forces of the great companies, by which the Dutch undermined the power of their late masters.

South America

For the moment the Atlantic colonies were preserved by their nature from direct attack. Though harassed by English, French, and Dutch, their plantations offered no such prizes as Spain's fleets and trading-posts. The islands went on much as usual, save for an occasional descent of their enemies. Brazil, even at the crisis of this early period, flourished and spread its settlements from Pernambuco far to the northwest, where Para was founded to foil French ambitions in that quarter. **1615** And though it might have been apparent that once the East was secured, Spain's enemies would turn against the West, the very destruction of the trading empire brought respite to the planting colonies.

Thanks to the activity of her colonists, within the shell of desolation which her policy drew about the rich interior of her own American provinces, Spain's power actually increased while the storm of aggression beat most severely on her coasts and commerce. Far within their borders, settlers, prospectors, priests, planters, and officials slowly spread over her far-flung empire the broadening authority of her government and the peculiar institutions of her colonial society. 1565-85 In the La Plata region colonists pressed in, founding new posts, like Corrientes and Tucuman, and in Cordoba even a university. The Creoles spread their herds across the pampas, the Jesuits their mission farms and ranches along the Paraguay and Uruguay, until, at the height of English attack, the port of Buenos Ayres, through which ran the currents of communication between this new society and the old world, had grown into a principal resort of smuggling trade as well as a center of legal commerce. So great was this development that at the same time the German war reached its first climax, the Lima authorities divided this vast region into smaller administrative areas, and so organized the provinces of Tucuman, Buenos Ayres, and Paraguay. 1620

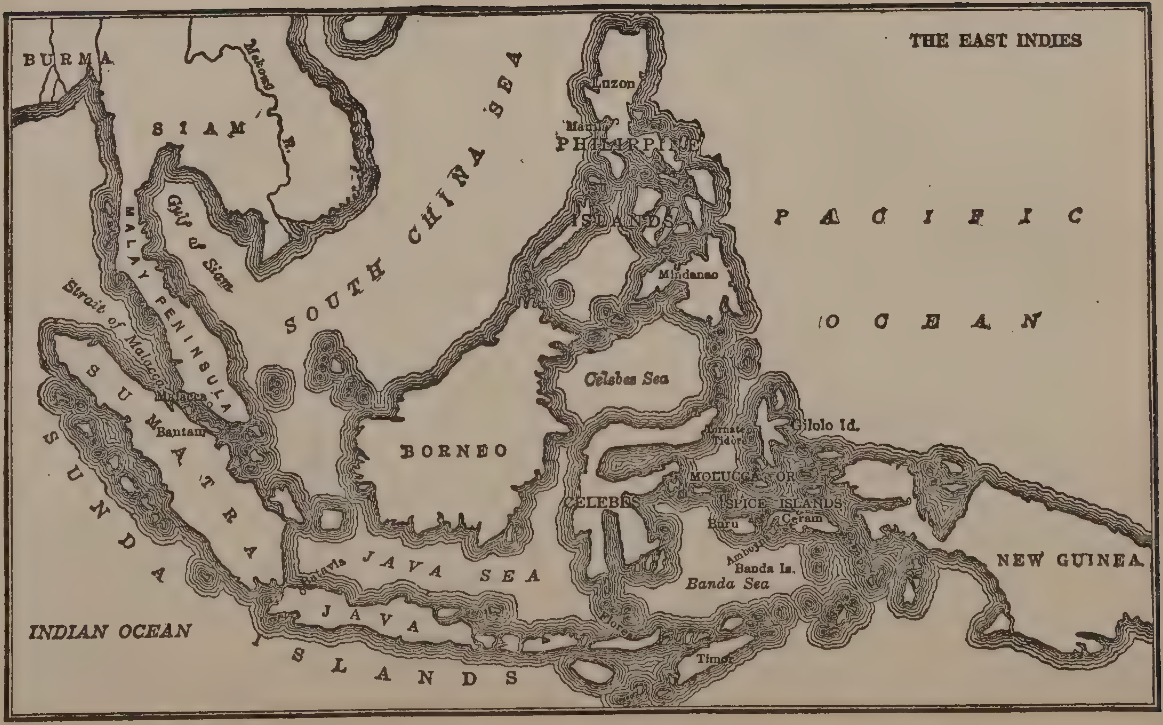
Farther north the same process went on in almost equal pace. In the same year that the Argentine was thus divided, the rich grazing and tobacco land of Venezuela, the district about Barcelona, began to be settled, and the previously prohibited cultivation of cacao was begun. From there, from the plantations west and south, as far as the old capital of Bogotá, which now, with its cathedral and schools, began to rival Lima and Mexico, Spanish culture, no less than Spanish authority, took on new life. The most distant lands of New Spain felt like impulse, and while explorers resurveyed the California coast, or traversed the lands which Coronado found, in Santa Fé, New Mexico, the foundations of a new 1605 provincial capital were laid. In these extensions of her empire the insular possessions lagged behind. Manila, remote from outside influence, took on the form of a municipality, and with its government buildings, its barracks, and its university, maintained the Spanish influence in the Philippines, its chief event the yearly galleon to Mexico. But the West Indies, subject to continual attack, save for the fortified port of Havana, sank into insignificance, or became the resort of pirate and privateer.

Center and symbol of the whole vast area, Lima and Mexico flourished, with their hospitals and schools, their cathedrals, and universities, the oldest and largest institutions of their kind outside of Europe. They represented the wealth of the Spanish American colonies, which had increased since the discovery of quicksilver-bearing cinnabar at Huancavelica, 1566 in the tenth year of Philip II's reign. This gave fresh impetus to the mining industry in which mercury was by this time an invaluable agency in the recovery of gold from ore. The growing stream of wealth which the improvements in the reduction of ore by the copper pan amalgamation process, and the discovery of new mines in the Lake Titicaca district, poured into its hands, evidenced the substantial increase of Spanish colonial prosperity. Yet at the same time Spain's own strength declined till it became dependent on its own dependency. Such, in the years which saw the Dutch supplant the Portuguese in the East, were the extensions which European power and civilization owed to the energy of the Spanish colonists.

The Dutch and the Portuguese Empire

But if, with the beginnings of the seventeenth century, those colonists thus flourished behind their wilderness barrier, despite the bureaucratic rule which did little to second their activities, the unfortunate Portuguese bore the full brunt of all the many enemies of Spain. To them Philip II had, 1580-1620 indeed, confirmed control of the trade and offices throughout their empire. But it was a barren gift; for neither he nor his successors could insure immunity from the consequences of his own policy. As a result, the first four decades of the Portuguese captivity saw the collapse of their colonial empire. Under the guidance of the pacific James, England's attack slackened; but Dutch aggression, hampered by no illusions and few scruples, held on its way to seize the eastern trade by right of the strong hand. The rise of the Dutch empire in Asia was only the story of the fall of Portugal.

It was in vain that the old masters of the East strove to assert their rights. It was in vain they sought support from native rulers, the Grand Mogul, the King of Siam, and the Shah of Persia. It was in vain they struck time after time from Goa or from Portugal against their enemies. Their


THE EAST INDIES

earlier oppression now bore its bitter fruit, for everywhere the invaders found native allies. Long misgovernment met its reward; and desperate efforts to reorganize their armies and their fleets brought small success. The Portuguese themselves shunned such service, save when official peculation made it profitable. And though the garrisons were increased fivefold by native levies, these lent themselves rather to corruption than defense, until, with such a strain on her resources, it became a question whether the loss of her eastern possessions would not be a positive gain for Portugal.

It was, then, rather against the eastern posts that the Dutch directed their first and most furious attack, and, for the time being, made their chief effort to break down Spain's colonial monopoly, for it was there that the great profits of such extra-European ventures lay, and there that trade and power could be obtained most rapidly and most easily. In consequence, within six years from its foundation, the Dutch India Company had made enormous strides.

The Dutch colonial empire

Everywhere throughout the islands which stretch southeastward from Asia it not merely established its own trading connections, but had endeavored, with considerable success, to exclude the English, as the rival traders made their way among the native princes seeking business and treaties. From India through Ceylon to Java and Sumatra, south and southeast through the Moluccas, or Islands of Spice, with their chief trading centers of Ternate and Tidore; among the Isles of Cloves and Nutmegs, Banda, Amboyna, Pularoon; to Macao in China; past Celebes and Borneo, to New Guinea, even to the remoter confines of Australia, now rediscovered and renamed New Holland, they pushed their vessels in search of trade and laid foundations for a new empire of the commerce of the East.

Nor was trade the whole of their activity. Beginning with Achin in Sumatra opposite the Portuguese Malacca, to Bantam in Java, and Johore on the south coast of the Malay peninsula, they established posts by which, with the possession of strategic points like Ternate and Amboyna, they sought to command not merely the seaways of the farther

East, the straits of Malacca and Sunda, but the whole traffic of the islands and the routes to China and Japan. To this end their next efforts were directed. Amid continual war with the Portuguese, and efforts to enlist native princes everywhere against the common enemy, they extended their suzerainty over local chiefs. Now, as they grew stronger, they strove to prevent the natives from commerce with any other nation. 1609 When the Twelve Years' Truce was signed, they crowned this first stage of their progress by sending out Pieter Both as Governor General, to organize and confirm their hold upon the Archipelago. Already their ships had reached Japan, whose Shogun, Iyeyasu, detained their English pilot-major, William Adams. By his influence the Dutch were allowed to found a factory in the island kingdom. Two years thereafter the exile secured the same privilege for his own countrymen; and thus, by the curiously romantic intervention of this Kentish sailorman—who became the founder of the Japanese navy and eventually a god—began that long-lived relationship of such future consequence to East and West alike.

England and Holland

But it was not alone against the Spanish and the Portuguese that the Dutch had to contend, for, as the English had preceded them in organized efforts to control that trade, so they remained their chief competitors for its great profits. If political development were a well-ordered, logical, and intelligent progress toward well-defined ends, instead of blind advance toward the unknown, the triumph of one set of principles or practices might become the basis for concerted action to the advantage of all the victorious elements. Had England and Holland, triumphing over Spain and Portugal, been content to divide and enjoy the heritage which they were about to win—had they even been satisfied to confine their hostilities to the destruction of their mutual enemies until that issue had been determined—the result might, indeed, not have made for peace, but it would, at any rate, have limited the area of conflict. But scarcely were they fairly in the field of eastern trade when to their joint attack on Spain and Portugal was added their rivalry with each other, which within another generation was to become one of the great issues of the European world.

It might have been supposed that this oversea conflict would have been the cause of an immediate general European war. But three circumstances combined to prevent this result. The first was the fact that colonial affairs were still regarded as outside the pale of European polity as then understood; that events ''beyond the line'' were in the main a separate concern, to be reckoned a cause of war at home, or not, as the occasion served. The second was Spain's inability to avenge all of her injuries at once. The third was the pacific policy of James I and John Oldenbarneveldt.

These last were, in a sense, the immediate determining elements. The peace between England and Spain and the Twelve Years' Truce were forced on Philip III by his triumphant enemies; and had they pressed their great advantage home, they might have crushed Spain's power once for all. Yet to their minds peace seemed the wiser course and its accomplishment was easier because, whatever the antagonism beyond the Cape, the interlopers had certain advantages in their efforts to expand their power oversea while keeping peace at home. The field was wide; it was imperfectly cultivated by Portuguese enterprise, and there were opportunities for profit without war.

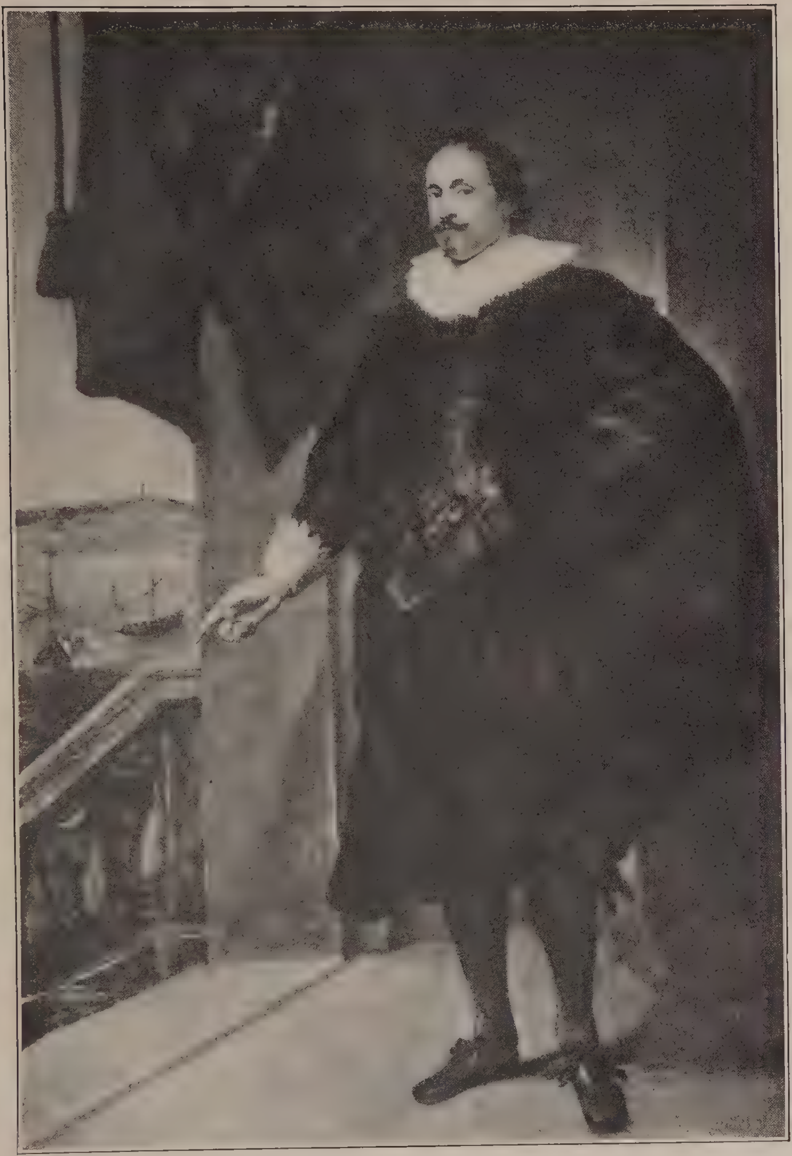
The English in India 1600-9

Such a condition appealed especially to the English king; and his subjects, unlike the Dutch, had from the first sought means to invade Portuguese monopoly without conflict. Their immediate concern was to find some legal procedure for their acts. And in accordance with the Company's pious, punning motto, ''Deus Indicat,'' they turned to India. On the third of the so-called ''Separate Voyages,'' which filled the first dozen years of its existence, one of the Company's captains, William Hawkins, landed at Surat and carried letters from James I to the Mogul Emperor, Jehangir, at Agra, in an attempt to gain a foothold on the mainland. But neither the effort to connect themselves with the Mogul authority, which was meanwhile extending its power over the interior, nor the development of their trade, had proved espe- **1607**

cially successful. Now, when to the antagonism of Dutch and Portuguese was added the increasing effort of interloping English adventurers to break down the Company's monopoly, it was compelled to take steps to preserve its existence. Nine years, therefore, after its first incorporation,
1609 just as Spain and Holland had come to terms of truce, the English company was rechartered, its privileges were regranted in perpetuity, its capital was enlarged, and, under these more favorable auspices, it began a new chapter in its eventful history.

In one direction the English were fortunate. On the northwest coast of India a post at Surat had been established, and thereafter, defeating the Portuguese squadron guarding the approaches to the English vantage point and destroying the fleet which held the coast between Goa and Diu, permission for a permanent settlement was obtained. Sir Thomas Roe was despatched to gain trading and residential privileges from the Grand Mogul. Agencies were established in the interior to gather muslins and indigo for the Surat post, and when, ten years after the destruction of the Portuguese
1622 fleet, the English with native aid captured Ormuz, Portugal's supremacy in Cambayan and Persian waters was at an end.

Had the English been equally successful in their other ventures, or in their relations with their rivals, the history of their empire in the East would have been far different from what it proved to be. On the other side of India, where the Dutch factors controlled the trade of the Malabar coast, they essayed in vain to establish a post at Pulicat. Under protection of the king of Golconda a short-lived post was set up at Pettapoli; and, finally, at Masulipatam, halfway between Cape Comorin and the Ganges' mouth, they founded the "most fortunate and thrifty" of their stations. The rich trade in textiles and the precious stones which made Golconda a synonym for wealth, the spices and camphor and benzoin of Siam and the Archipelago, found their way hither with the goods from the farther East. Yet in the very success of this factory lay the seeds of enmity with their Dutch



FRANS VAN DER BORCHT.

After the painting by Van Dyck. This portrait is a good type of the 17th century school, and illustrates the change in costume. Compare with Coligni, p. 298.

rivals; in particular since it shared in that spice trade for which the Dutch were prepared to fight with any or all other powers.

Anglo-Dutch hostility

To control that most coveted of monopolies, Both's expedition had bound the native princes of the Archipelago to the Dutch interest by a network of treaties and so laid the foundations of Dutch supremacy. Meanwhile, at home the statesmen strove for an accommodation. The nominal friendship of the rival states, endless negotiations, James' apparent determination to have peace at any price, combined with Oldenbarneveldt's efforts to compose the quarrel, to calm the storm,—but to little purpose. The long negotiations led only to the vaguest of arrangements. It provided that each nation should enjoy its own conquests and discoveries, pay customs to each other at their respective ports, and so divide the trade for twenty years, leaving the question of the posts undetermined. To this was added an agreement to join against the common enemy, establish a joint Council of Defense, and so "beat the Spaniard out of the Indies." **1619**

But all the good intentions and the adroitness of statesmen and diplomats availed little to insure peace beyond the line. The strategic points of the seaways and the centers of the spice trade were seized by the Dutch. Collisions of all sorts embittered relations already strained to the breaking-point. Disputes over conflicting treaties with the natives were followed by attack and reprisal, which led to open war. In this conflict the English company, its profits reduced, its very existence threatened by rivalry at home and war abroad, found itself in no condition to oppose the great national enterprise of the United Provinces. It was as little able to compete with the new traffic in tea which the Dutch introduced from China as they were to rival the trade in coffee which their competitors first brought from Mocha. And, whatever their profits from their chief commodity, pepper, from spices and eastern products generally, they fell far short of the Dutch, not only in their revenues but in their general status through the East. Only their defeat of the Portuguese at Ormuz, two years after the Treaty of Defense, **1621-2** and their entry into some share in the trade of that region broke the long record of disappointment and defeat which these years held for England's merchant adventurers.

To them the treaty brought no relief. However it may have satisfied the English king and his advisers, it availed little in checking hostilities in the East. Sir Thomas Dale was despatched to face the new Dutch governor-general, Jan Pieterzoon Caen (or Koen), with whose arrival opened a new chapter in Dutch colonial history. This great administrator had been trained in the Roman commercial house of Piscatori. He had long been president of the factory and outlying agencies of Bantam, and what Albuquerque had been to Portugal, Caen now became to the United Provinces. Nor were his plans and operations dissimilar. Fortifying Jacatra and Bantam to control the Sunda Straits, and putting down native revolt in the Moluccas, he returned from his first expedition to wrest his half-completed fortresses from the English and Javanese who had taken advantage of his absence to overthrow Dutch domination. Dale, driven from Jacatra, made his way back to India, to die of fever, and Caen, thus relieved of his most dangerous enemy, prepared to consolidate his country's power in the East. Jacatra was destroyed, and near it was begun the city and fortress of Batavia, which, more than worthy rival of Surat and Golden Goa, has stood from his day to our own, the capital of the Dutch trading and planting empire of the East.

Caen 1617-22

Batavia 1621

Caen's services by no means ended here. For he maintained the Dutch contention that, whatever the great treaty said of commerce and defense, it gave the English no *dominium* or jurisdiction in Asiatic territories, and he proceeded to oust them from the slender foothold they had gained. Unable to supply their complement of ships, unwilling to join in a projected attack on Bantam, or to engage in war with Spain, embittered by the quarrels over mutual restitution of property taken in the late reprisals, the English found themselves outgeneraled in war and diplomacy alike. Their ships remaining in the Archipelago were taken. Their treaty with Bantam was seized on as ground for war. Their position at Batavia was made untenable; their agents were fined, imprisoned, even flogged; their agencies in Lantor and Pularoon were expelled; and they lost whatever power they had held. Before the end of Caen's first term of service the Dutch were masters of the Archipelago.

The massacre of Amboyna

This was not the worst. At the same moment that the Catholic Imperialist success ended the first period of the German war the Dutch confirmed their hold on farther Asia by a crowning tragedy. In the remotest regions to which commercial rivalry had led Europe's adventurers, the little island of Amboyna—one of the great centers of the spice trade—had, from its position in the heart of the Moluccas, long been contested by successive powers. These now were narrowed to the English and the Dutch, whose agents were at bitter enmity. Scarcely had Caen left office when the controversy was determined there by a single stroke. The Dutch, who outnumbered their competitors some ten to one, charged the English with conspiracy, fell on the little garrison, put them to death, and took possession of their few **1623** remaining posts throughout the Archipelago. With this Holland's control of the Spice Islands was assured. The English were driven back upon the continent, to find what compensation they could there; and the first chapter of Anglo-Dutch rivalry ended. The contest for Asiatic trade was not concluded with this forcible delimitation of the spheres of influence; its last outrage left a long legacy of bitter retribution to succeeding years. But, for the time being, the Dutch held the ascendancy. The English were compelled to that momentous decision which made the mainland of India the chief scene of their activity, and, in the end, the chief prize of their imperial ambition.

Russia

The English had other rivals in their activity on the Asiatic continent. At almost the same moment that England and Holland burst through the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly in the south, the Russians had begun to play a part in this invasion of the East. Their adventurers, following along the path Yermak had pointed out, were making their way across

1588 the vast plains of northern Asia to the conquest of Siberia. In the Armada year Tobolsk had been founded and the trade route to Bokhara opened up. As the Dutch and English companies began their long rivalry the Muscovites reached the upper Obi and established an outpost at Tomsk, halfway from Moscow to the Pacific. Thence they prepared to press forward across the northern steppes. The year in which the German war broke out they reached the Yenesei, and founded 1618 there the town of Yeneseisk. And, at the moment that the Anglo-Dutch rivalry reached its height with the Massacre of Amboyna, the Russians had become the masters of the greater 1623 part of Siberia, and were well on the way to those vast regions which lie along the course of the Lena.

The results of expansion

Thus in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, while Germany embarked on the last and greatest of religious wars, and England entered upon an era of civil disturbance which was to end in a no less momentous conflict, the earth was divided into new spheres of European influence, and a new element was injected into world politics. And if one feature of political affairs becomes more apparent than another, as the events of the ensuing century unfold themselves, it is that European activities are no longer bounded by the limitations which conditioned the affairs of the preceding century. However important the situation which had brought central Europe into the throes of war, the future belonged less to the issues which were there fought out than to those elements which found their first expression in the English disturbances, and the activities of Europeans beyond the sea. It has been observed that any society which cannot expand must die; and that its every function is affected by its margins of free land and the extension of its opportunities. In that view the extension of their power beyond the sea offered to those European states which now entered the colonial field a new lease of life no less than new fields for their energies.

CHAPTER XVIII

ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND HOLLAND IN AMERICA. 1603-1623

Europe and her oversea possessions

It is apparent in even the most superficial consideration of European history during the first two decades of the seventeenth century that, however important the events which brought the English crown into conflict with the Parliament, made Sweden the mistress of the Baltic, and plunged Germany into the throes of a religious conflict, the interest and importance of that period is not confined to Europe itself. No account of the activities of France under Henry IV would be in any sense complete which ignored one of the greatest events in his reign, the planting of French settlements in America. No chronicle of eastern affairs would be of much value which omitted the advance of Russia into Asia. Nor is it possible to write of the conflict between Spain and the Netherlands without consideration of the principal scene of that conflict, the sea, and its great prize, commerce and colonies. Above all, no record of the reign of James I can pretend to any completeness which fails to include not only the controversy between the crown and the nonconformists within the British Isles, but those far-reaching policies and events which, during this period, planted English colonies and English power in the western world. For, among the various results which flowed from the conflicts and controversies of the sixteenth century, none exceeds in importance that decline of Spanish naval power which now, for the first time, opened the seaways and the lands beyond to northern nations, and that consequent movement of north-European peoples to America which introduced a new element into the world's affairs. Beside the beginnings of the German war, the quarrel of English crown and Parliament, and the establishment of England and Holland in the East, the settlement of North America must be reckoned as one of the determining factors of modern history.

France in America

It might have been supposed that those nations to which the destruction of Spanish naval power was due would have been the first to enter into the inheritance of the western hemisphere now opened to their enterprise. But such was not the case. For under the stimulus of the new spirit which had come over her affairs with the accession of Henry IV, it was France who first roused to fresh adventures oversea. Midway between the crusading and commercial powers, her instinct for colonies and trade, adventure and empire, if it lacked somewhat of the fierce covetousness and religious zeal of Spain and Portugal, and fell short of the passionate regard for dividends which characterized her northern neighbors, partook of both impulses. For centuries, as fishermen, as interlopers in the Portuguese monopoly, as privateers and colonists, her seamen and adventurers had found their way to the west. Merchants of Rouen, Dieppe, Honfleur, Bordeaux had set up factories on the African Gold Coast, sent expeditions to the farther East, financed Brazilian voyages, and founded short-lived trading companies. The French rulers of the sixteenth century, like their neighbors across the Channel, however, had been turned aside from wider colonial ventures by the long rivalry with Charles V and by the civil wars. The despatch of Verrazano and Cartier by Francis I, Cartier's settlements and those of Roberval, had done no more than dissipate the fear of the griffins and monsters which ranged the northern seas, the fiends who held the Isles of Demons, the savages possessed of Satan who occupied the interior of Canada. Some claims to the shore neglected by Spain and Portugal had been established. Coligni's colonizing projects had been cut short by his tragic death; all else had come to naught, save the precarious gains from West Indian piracy and private trade. 1535-

However, with a monarch bred in the Huguenot school, to which nearly all French extra-European enterprise had been due, and with a minister interested no less in the economic than in the political power of the nation, there came a change. As Granada's fall, a century earlier, had turned adrift needy Spanish adventurers bred to war and seeking fresh enterprise, the peace which followed the accession of Henry of Navarre put a like force at the disposal of the French. For a colonial enterprise they could enlist recruits from a nobility which had lately played a part that, however embittered and disguised by a religious complication, was not unlike that of the English baronage a hundred years before. To these they added a king, who, despite all differences of character and circumstance, was in a position not unlike that of Henry VII; and a realm scarcely less disturbed than England after Bosworth Field. From such elements they recruited a fresh adventure.

Canada 1599

Within a year after the Edict of Nantes, a trading association had been established to deal with Java, the Moluccas, and Sumatra, and the Company of Canada and Acadia had been brought into existence. It was but natural that the latter company should seem the more important, for French enterprise had always directed its chief interest toward North America. The region about the St. Lawrence was the earliest territory known to them in the new world, and the most explored; it was beyond the accepted limits of the powers with which Coligni's colonies had had such sad experience. Inhospitable as it seemed to Mediterranean peoples, its rigors were less heeded by the hardier northerners. Unprofitable as it had appeared to Spain, its furs, its forest products, and its fisheries offered to French adventurers prizes only less attractive than the spices of the East; while to her statesmen, the illimitable, unoccupied interior of the continent brought dreams of imperial dominion. Since Cartier's day, wild tales had been afloat of Norumbega, of the great native town of Hochelaga below the rapids of the St. Lawrence, which had barred the earlier explorers from their hope of reaching Asia, and thenceforth were known as Lachine. Since his time trade had increased in fish and peltry, in "ocean ivory" of walrus tusks, in oil, and such products of forest and sea; and when the Edict of Nantes had freed the energies of France it was to this vast region that their thoughts first turned.

Champlain

The revival of her colonial ambitions took form from the ideals and the circumstances of the time. A Breton Catholic, the Marquis de la Roche, named as lieutenant-general of "Canada, Hochelaga, Newfoundland, and Labrador, with their adjacent lands," began by settling an ill-fated convict colony upon Acadia. His death transferred his patent to a St. Malo merchant, Pontgrave, and a naval captain, Chauvin, who landed settlers at Tadoussac to live on Indian charity or starve. Thereafter a stout soldier, Sieur Aymar de Chastes, Commander of St. John, Governor of Dieppe, a Catholic supporter of the king, whose aid had given Henry the victory of Arques, was granted a charter "to plant the lilies and the cross" in the new land. Allying himself with Pontgrave, he presently enlisted the services of one who was to be to French power in the new world what Cortez had been to Spain and Yermak to Russia, Samuel Champlain. Son of a Brouage sea-captain, bred to arms, having seen service in the civil wars, sometime enlisted in a Spanish expedition to the West Indies to gain information of those regions for the French government, this brave, sagacious adventurer, wearying of inaction as a royal pensioner at court, committed himself to the new enterprise, and set out with Pontgrave on an expedition which was destined to give France an empire. Such were the founders of New France.

His first voyage 1603

On his first voyage Champlain explored the St. Lawrence and the Saguenay. He failed to find the town of Hochelaga, or a way past the rapids of Lachine, and returned to learn that his colleague, de Chastes, had died, and Pierre du Gast, Sieur de Monts, the Calvinistic governor of Pons, and sometime a companion of Chauvin in America, was now grantee of Acadia. The adventurers' reports, now published, wakened fresh interest in the project to found a colony. De Monts lent his assistance, and Pontgrave, and a wild company, half Protestant, half Catholic, wholly adventurers, sailed with Champlain to found the settlement of Port Royal, on the Bay of Fundy in Nova Scotia. From that region the coast was

1604

explored far to the south. But the resentment of the interloping traders whom he sought to repress brought the revocation of de Monts' monopoly, and it was only after two years of effort that the governor of Pons again despatched Champlain as lieutenant-governor to secure a site for a trading-post. From Tadoussac the great explorer made his way again up the St. Lawrence, and at the foot of that huge cliff from whose commanding eminence the city of Quebec still gazes 1608 down the broadening river to the sea he founded the first permanent French settlement in America, or indeed outside the European continent. With this the hold of France in the new world was finally secured. Tadoussac, overrun with Basque and French adventurers, remained a center of fur trade. Increasing fleets of fishermen and merchants visited Acadia and Newfoundland. The Jesuits followed; and before the first decade of the new century was gone, while Holland secured her foothold in the East, France had established her authority along the St. Lawrence and prepared, under Champlain's direction, to extend her power deep in the heart of the vast wilderness beyond.

England in America

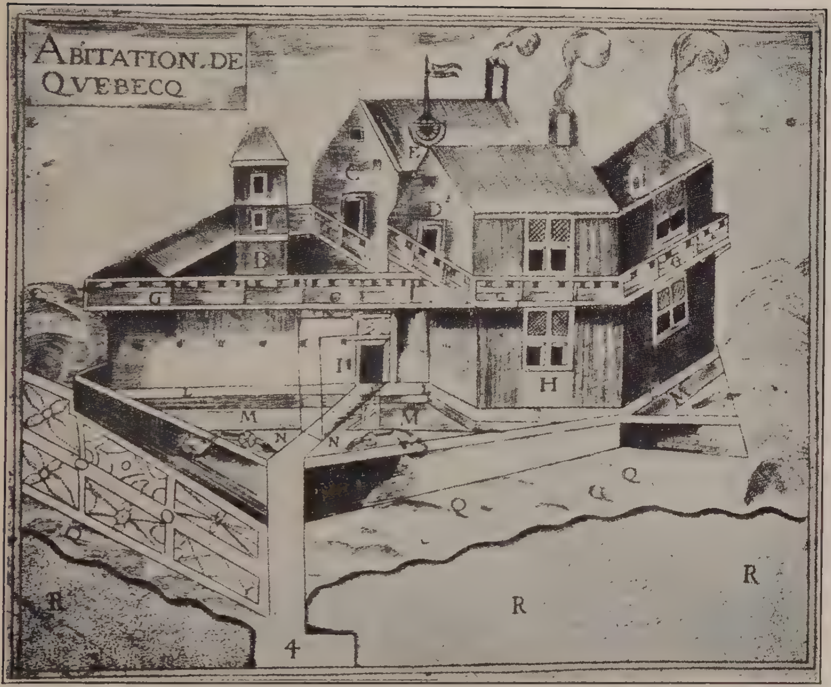
It could not be supposed that, in the face of these great movements in the East and West, England would content herself with the slight profits of her Asiatic trade; and those who had formed the companies to exploit the East were quick to feel the lure of the West, to which the earlier adventurers had already shown the way. Raleigh, who had written in Elizabeth's last years, "I shall still live to see Virginia an English nation," had fallen from place and favor, lost his patent and his liberty. James I had reversed Elizabethan policy and set England's feet in different paths. But Englishmen still dreamed of the land which Raleigh had thought to seize between the spheres of Spain and France, and whose name, Virginia, still echoed the greatness of a passing generation and its queen. Already her captains had spied out the land. The year before her death Raleigh himself made 1602 a last effort to rescue his ill-fated colony. On his track Gosnold explored southern New England coasts, first by himself, later with Gilbert and Pring; and, later still, Weymouth led an expedition to the Kennebec. With this, as French power fixed itself on the St. Lawrence, England gathered fresh forces for a colonizing enterprise destined to permanence, between the regions now claimed and occupied by Spain and France.

The Virginia Company 1606

Nothing could have been more typical of the nation which set it on foot than the men who pushed it forward. With its chief promoter, the explorer Gosnold, were associated Sir Thomas Smyth, the first governor of the East India Company, and chief assignee of Raleigh's forfeited patent; Popham, a cousin of the chief justice; Wingfield, a West Country merchant; Hunt, a clergyman; Somers and Gates, comrades of Raleigh; Dale, a Low Country soldier; Raleigh Gilbert, nephew of "the caged eagle"; with "knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers," chiefly in London, Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth. These petitioned James for "licence to deduce a colony into Virginia," and two years after Port Royal was founded a patent passed the royal seal establishing two companies. To the London Company, or First Colony, was granted land along the Atlantic coast of North America, from 34° to 38°, with right to three degrees farther north if it was first to colonize. To the Plymouth Company was issued a similar grant from 41° to 45°, with like overlapping rights to the south. Each company was given land for fifty miles each side its first colony and twice that distance inland; rights of coinage and of self-defense; with liberal trading privileges; and, for government, a resident council in the colony and a general council at home. Such were the personalities and the plans for England's first successful attempt to extend her civilization and her power in America.

Jamestown 1607

Thus equipped, the new corporation bought three ships. A hundred adventurers, mostly gentlemen, were enlisted; Christopher Newport, "a Marriner well practised for the Westerne parts of America," was engaged; and, nine months after the passage of the patent to the company, its little fleet set sail. Watering at the Canaries, trading with the "Salvages," and refreshing themselves in the West Indies, they were driven by storm into the Chesapeake. Thence they



CHAMPLAIN'S *Habitation*, Quebec.

From Champlain's *Voyages*, 1613. By courtesy of the New York Public Library.

sailed up a river, christened it James; and there on a low-lying peninsula the adventurers began a settlement which they called Jamestown. As soon as this was well under way, a council formed, the river explored, and savage attacks beaten off, they were left by Newport to their great task, than which there was "nothing so difficult . . . to establish a Commonwealth so farre remote from men and means." Meanwhile, the western company, dissociating itself from the Londoners, despatched an expedition, under Gilbert and Popham, to the Kennebec. But the climate was severe; the hopes of finding mines were disappointed; the French and Spanish traders were hostile; and in the very days that the French colony which was to found Quebec made its slow way across the north Atlantic, it was passed by the discouraged English colonists, "frightened at a blast," returning home. **1607-8**

John Smith

Had it not been for the courage and capacity of one man, the Jamestown settlement might have suffered the same fate. What Champlain was to New France, John Smith was to Virginia. Besides a varied service in the European war, especially against the Turks, he had experienced a long series of what by his own account were not infrequently marvelous adventures. Such a life had hardened this sturdy captain who took charge of affairs in the first trying year of the new colony into a commander whose courage, persistence, and resource made the continuance of the experiment possible, and sustained its feeble life amid many vicissitudes till a new supply of settlers enabled it to go on. In such hands, and by such slender means, was England's foothold in North America secured.

The London Company 1609

While it was thus slowly and painfully establishing itself in the New World its status at home was altered. Reorganized at the same time that the East India Company was rechartered, the London Company became an open corporation with purchasable shares, which might be allotted to a colonist for his services, together with land to be distributed after seven years in proportion to the stock he held. Royal and episcopal supremacy was confirmed, with English land tenure and judicial system. At the same time also a new grant of territory, whose indefinite terms were of much importance thereafter, conferred on the reorganized company two hundred miles of coast on each side of Old Point Comfort, extending inland "west and northwest from sea to sea."

Under the new charter was formed a corporation without parallel hitherto in European experience. Its government was vested in an English president and council, its active management was intrusted to a governor and council in the colony. Thus the colonists became, in effect, at once servants and sharers of a species of joint-stock communistic enterprise; turning their produce into its magazines, drawing thence their necessary supplies, and sharing in the prospective profits of the venture. With all its disabilities it somehow managed to survive. Despite its earlier disappointment in finding neither mines nor a seaway to the East; despite the sufferings which culminated in the fearful "Starving Time" of its third winter; despite its feebleness which was accentuated by Smith's return to England, the colony held on. And it gradually became evident that, however unpractical its original organization was to prove, a new and vigorous force was to compete with Spanish conquest and planting and French commerce in the exploitation of America, and extend there the frontiers and resources of European peoples on new lines and over increasing areas. The Jamestown colony was projected at the same moment that the outbreaks in Germany presaged religious war. Its early years coincided with the Anglo-Dutch attack upon the Portuguese empire of the East, and the growing hostility between the English crown and people. Beside these great events the activities of a handful of settlers in the North American wilderness seem trivial enough. Yet it was in their hands rather than in trade war or religious controversy that the future lay.

North America and its inhabitants

The conditions which the French and English encountered in the regions where they now made their first permanent settlements, and whither they were soon to be followed by the Dutch, differed widely from any hitherto met with by European settlers. From temperate through cold temperate to Arctic latitudes they found lands covered for the most part with forests, beech, oak, ash, pine, chestnut, walnut, and poplar in many varieties, familiar and unfamiliar to them. Those forests were filled with game which, with a few striking exceptions, was not unknown to Europe in some form. Deer and bear abounded, with rabbits and squirrels, wild birds of many kinds, particularly ducks, quail, and grouse of numerous species. To European eyes the opossum, the raccoon, and the wild turkey were novelties; and as they penetrated the interior, the bison, or buffalo, added a new element to their resources and experience. In particular, the fur-bearing animals formed the chief wealth of this new heritage, especially in the north. Mink, fox, and ermine, bear skins, from the brown and black varieties of the south to the white Polar variety, the walrus and the seal, were plentiful. Above all, perhaps, was the beaver, whose extraordinary intelligence and engineering skill had spread the lodges of its widespread communities across the northern continent, the most numerous as well as the most sought of all the more valuable fur-bearing inhabitants of the new world.

The animals

The Indians

The peoples with whom Europeans now came in close contact, the North American Indians, resembled somewhat in color and habits some of the races the invaders had met in South America. They varied among themselves, but not so much as they differed from the chief races the Europeans had already conquered, the Aztecs and Incas. In spite of the fact that many of them had villages, their settlements were usually not permanent, and they were, for the most part, within the fairly defined areas their tribes inhabited, semi-migratory in their character. Their living was gained in part from hunting, which, with war, absorbed the energies of the men; and in part, among the less savage tribes especially, from cultivation of the soil, carried on almost entirely by the women, or squaws. Indian corn or maize, pumpkins, fruits, beans, added to the potatoes or yams, rice and tobacco of the south, formed their chief subsistence, with fish, oysters, and clams which the waters provided.

Their arts

Their arts were rudimentary. Lodges or tepees of bark, poles, and skins formed their houses; their clothing, such as it was, they made from the skins of animals, principally the deer. They were still in the stone age, and their implements of war, chase, and husbandry were all of that material. They lacked the three animals most important to civilized man, the horse, the cow, and the pig. Their sole domesticated animal was the dog, and their only conveyance the canoe. Their principal weapons were the bow, the war-ax or club, the hatchet-shaped tomahawk, and the rude knife which they used not merely as a means of offense and defense, but to secure their most coveted trophies, the scalps of their enemies. Some tribes achieved rude pottery and basket work, most used a rude currency of wampum or shells strung on cords.

—religion and culture

Their religion was a natural mythology; in literature they had not proceeded beyond the stage of folk-tales and myths; and their use of rude hieroglyphs did not extend to the production of permanent records. Their government was tribal; and their most powerful confederacy, the Iroquois, or Five Nations, which occupied the lands between the Hudson River and the Great Lakes, had attained an organization and an ascendency which dominated a great portion of the north. Thence their far-reaching hunting and war parties brought them into collision with a like group of Chickasaws and Creeks, which held a similar position in the south. Among these tribes there existed a rude form of commerce in materials for apparel, war, and chase; and this, with their wide journeys in search of game or enemies, was the sole bond of union among these scattered peoples.

Their qualities

They had, indeed, some admirable qualities. They were incomparable woodsmen, capable of enduring extraordinary hardships. They were at once proud, brave, and cunning; their stoicism was almost incredible, and they possessed a noble and lofty eloquence. Above all, owing perhaps to their peculiar social system, they preferred death to slavery; and in this respect offered a striking contrast to almost every other uncivilized or even civilized people the Europeans met. This characteristic determined the conditions of the invaders of North America. Had they desired, it would have been impossible to reduce the Indians to subjection; and, in consequence, if they made good their occupation of the continent, it was only at the cost of long and bloody war, of the extermination or expulsion of its original inhabitants.

Such were the people and such the conditions of successful colonizing which Europeans were now called on to face in the new scene of their activities. Compared with the far-flung empire of Philip III these tiny specks of settlement seemed insignificant, even when, at this moment, they were reinforced by the exploit of Henry Hudson, who, sailing up **1609** the river which still bears his name, claimed it and the adjacent territory for his Dutch employers and laid foundations for a later occupation. Compared with the problems at issue among peoples and rulers at home, such enterprises seemed all but contemptible. While Europe was convulsed with a life and death conflict between the two communions, while England began her struggle between crown and Parliament, it might seem that the activities of a handful of adventurers in a distant and savage land could well be ignored.

Importance of the North American colonies

Yet, in a longer view, those feeble French and English settlements yield nothing in importance to the more spectacular European conflicts which accompanied and in some measure conditioned their progress. In those colonies there lay not merely the germs of wide and powerful dominion, but the beginnings of a new order in the world. The activities of captains and kings filled a far larger place in the minds of the generation which endured the Thirty Years' War than the achievements and hardships of the founders of these new societies. They have thus, naturally enough, bulked larger in history. But if we are to regard constructive effort as one of the chief aims of mankind and a leading concern of those who chronicle its achievements, it is apparent that Champlain and Smith are worthy to be set above many of those rulers who in this period occupy a far greater space in its annals. And, in the long resolution of events, the formation of self-governing societies in North America is certainly not incomparable with even the maintenance of Protestantism in central Europe. For, apart from the opening of vast areas to settlement, the North American colonies were indissolubly connected with the two great issues which then faced European peoples,—freedom of belief and popular share in government. They were thus not only in close touch with the struggles in Germany and England, but they were, in a sense, a peculiar type and symbol of their times.

Colonial history and development

It is a false view of history which regards the activities of Europeans beyond the sea as outside the current of general European development. With all the variations among Europeans themselves, and between them and their offshoots abroad, there remains a certain unity in diversity in their joint activities whose neglect breeds a wholly distorted view of the past. As the struggle proceeded in Europe between Catholic and Protestant, between crown and subject, the English and the French made their way deeper into the heart of that wilderness which was to become the seat of a greater and freer society than any which had yet arisen outside the old world. Upon that world these societies were to have a profound influence. They were to contribute in no small measure to the solution of many of the problems then convulsing Europe. And, apart from their effect upon the future, they, like the concurrent activities of the Dutch, were not without significance on at least one of the two great issues then at stake in European affairs. For they placed before their countrymen at once a refuge from oppression and an ideal which powerfully reinforced the agencies then making for liberty throughout the continent. It is easy to exaggerate that immediate influence. It is still easier to overlook it. But no one who considers the whole field of European activity in the eventful years which saw the outbreak of religious dissension in Germany, and the beginning of opposition to autocracy in England, can doubt that the rise of the Dutch empire and the colonization of North America are to be reckoned among the most powerful influences which made for a new situation in the world's affairs.

1607-21

In those busy years Champlain defeated the Iroquois who barred his path, explored the Richelieu and the Ottawa, and made his way westward to Lake Huron. Franciscans were brought out to convert the savages, and the fortifications of Quebec strengthened. And though the governor of Virginia, Dale, destroyed French posts from Mount Desert to Port Royal, and limited French activity to the south, the "father of New France" confirmed his country's hold upon the mighty stream which, "like an insatiable merchant, engrossed all commodities" in that quarter of the world, and made the middle St. Lawrence at once the warehouse and the citadel of France in America.

The progress of English settlements in America

Meanwhile the English gained an advantage which they never lost in the struggle for a continent, now thus begun. This lay in the increasing numbers of their immigrants, which marked them from the first as the chief colonizing nation of the world. Despite discouragement and loss, due to the incapacity of the first settlers, despite the unfortunate location of the capital, and the impracticable communal system which presently broke down, despite official incompetence and the failure to find gold, Virginia grew. Germans and Poles were sent out to make potash and pearl ash from timber cleared away in the process of turning forests into farms. Hundreds of emigrants from England, inspired by the changes in the charter, which enabled men to gain free homes in the new world, poured into the settlement. To its success other events contributed. Of these the greatest was the beginning of tobacco culture on a scale which soon afforded a sound economic basis of prosperity. A Dutch ship brought **1619** some slaves, and so introduced that system of labor which had made the fortunes of the older tropical colonies. At the same moment the first General Assembly of the burgesses was convened by the governor. And when finally Sir Thomas Wyatt brought out a new constitution vesting local power in the governor, council, and House of Burgesses or assembly, the outlines of development and the stability of Virginia were assured. Self-contained and largely self-supporting, as well as self-governing, this new society of unmixed European blood, slave-holding, absorbed in planting and farming, became not merely the first real successful colony of the north-European states but the first of a new species of colonial enterprise.

The Puritans

The James River settlement was not long an isolated phenomenon in English affairs, for, as Europe plunged into religious war, two circumstances gave a new turn to these colonial activities. Raleigh, returning from a last, unfortunate voyage to the new world, found his way to the scaffold at the behest of the Spanish ambassador, as punishment for the destruction of a Spanish-American settlement. With his death ended the Elizabethan period. At that precise moment an obscure company of English Separatists, who had sought refuge from James's persecution in Leyden, joined with a group of London merchants in an agreement to plant another colony in the new world. With this came preparations to put into effect Coligni's great design of using the New World to redress the balance of the old by making there a home for the oppressed. Thus the death of Raleigh, first of English colonizers, last of the Elizabethans, so far from relieving Spain of interference in the west, but ushered in a greater chapter in that history. It is one of the striking coincidences of history that the years which saw the German religious question revived by the occupation of Donauwörth and the formation of the Catholic and Protestant leagues, were notable for the foundation of Jamestown and Quebec. It is no less noteworthy that the very moment of the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War and the death of Raleigh, the religio-political movement against which James I, in common with the sovereigns of his time, had set his face, found in America a field for its activities.

1618

For a new element was injected into the colonization of America, the Puritans. The management of the Virginia Company, transferred from traders like Smyth to the hands of "subtle men of high courage," like the leader of the Parliamentary opposition to James, Sir Edwin Sandys, had begun to assume the complexion of the political and religious elements which then divided England. Not even Tudor authority had been able to check the Reformation at the middle ground of the Established Church. The more advanced Protestants, oppressed by Mary, discouraged by Elizabeth, and persecuted by James, who threatened that he would "make them conform or harry them out of the land or worse," had been driven to different courses to save themselves. Some had carried on a propaganda in the country, in Parliament, in the church itself, reinforcing the party opposed on other grounds to the royal financial and foreign policy. Some had more or less patiently endured their miseries. Some had fled beyond the sea to that "cage of unclean birds," "the common harbor of all opinions and heresies," the United Netherlands.

New England

Such was the first of the elements which were now joined in a new undertaking. There were others of scarcely less consequence. In a community bent upon fresh enterprises of eastern trade, American colonies, and so-called "plantation" ventures in lands but lately wrested from rebellious Irish chieftains, the writings of John Smith—or those which his exploits and imagination inspired—which now appeared, roused England as Champlain's had earlier stirred France. His work was reinforced by other activities. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, undeterred by the failure of the Kennebec colony, employed Smith to explore "northern Virginia," with the result that the "New England" coast was mapped. A new region was thus brought to English view and almost at once a new corporation appeared as "the Council for New England" to exploit its possibilities. This was formed by the so-called "Merchant Adventurers of London," who secured patents for a colony from the Virginia Company and looked about for settlers. With their enlistment of the Puritan exiles in Holland, the new project was assured.

1614

The Pilgrim Fathers 1609

The groups now brought within the circle of English colonizing schemes were a peculiar product of the age in which they lived. They were the members of a so-called Brownist or Separatist congregation of Scrooby in Yorkshire, belonging to the estate of Sir Edwin Sandys' brother. A dozen years before, under their minister, John Robinson, they had found refuge in Holland. Fearing to lose their nationality in that alien land, they had first planned to emigrate to the district which Hudson found and named; and, failing that, they were prepared to listen to the proposals of this branch of the Virginia Company as voiced by Sandys. The form which the enterprise took owed much to the communal plan of the Virginia settlement. Seventy subscribers provided the capital, and shares were alloted to the emigrants, one to each emigrant above sixteen, two to each family furnishing itself, one for each two children between ten and sixteen. A slender store of utensils and food was provided, and thus equipped the colonists sailed on a small vessel, the *Mayflower*, to transplant their peculiar society to the western world. They sighted land the day after the battle of the White Hill was fought; and at the moment that Bohemia and the Palatinate were being overrun by Spanish, Imperialist, and Bavarian Catholics, the seed of another Protestant colony was planted in the New World. 1620

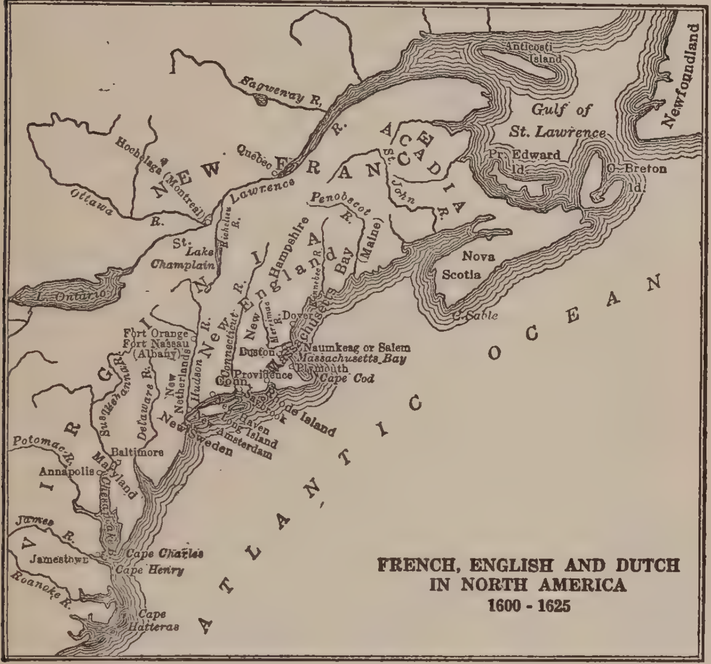
New Plymouth

Before landing on the inhospitable shore to which their pilot's ignorance or intention brought them, they signed a covenant "to . . . combine into a civill body politick . . . to enact, constitute and frame just and equall lawes for the generall good of the Colonie," and by this momentous act they established, virtually, a republican form of government. Under their elected governor, John Carver, and their captain, Miles Standish, "the John Smith of New England," they founded their little settlement of New Plymouth in the last weeks of that momentous year (1620) which saw the Imperialists complete their triumph for the moment in Germany and the Jamestown colony take final shape.

With this the English spirit of expansion was embodied in the form it maintained thereafter little changed. It was the product of three elements, commercial companies, seekers after religious and political liberty, and individual adventurers; and of these the second became the predominating influence. Widely different from all other forms of such enterprise hitherto, it was to achieve successfully the transfer not merely of political authority and commercial supremacy, but of a European society to displace a native population and build up real colonies of white blood beyond the sea. Above all, it was to establish in a new land, for the first time, a popular form of government.

New Netherlands

The Virginia and New Plymouth settlements came none too soon, if England was to gain foothold in America. Not merely were the French confirmed in the possession of the St. Lawrence region; the Dutch had already bestirred themselves to the same end. Before the Jamestown experiment was an assured success, long before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth, those who had sent Henry Hudson out to find a "way across the pole to the isles of spicery," and equipped the *Half Moon* with which he made his way up the great river christened after him, had laid their plans to secure a foothold in that promising region. The traders followed close on Hudson's track. A post was soon established on Manhattan Island at the river's mouth; and within five years

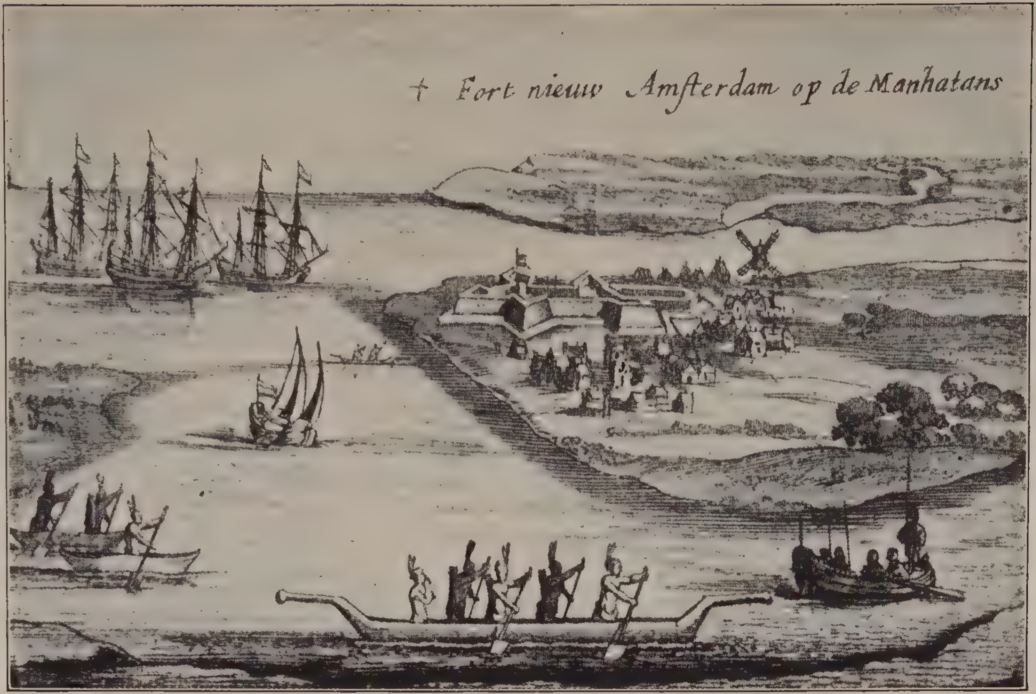


FRENCH, ENGLISH AND DUTCH IN NORTH AMERICA 1600 - 1625

1614 there was formed the United Netherlands Company, with grants of land from 49° to 45°, and right to trade and colonize. Forts were built at Manhattan and farther up the river. Long Island was explored. Steps were taken to secure the fur trade; and, while the Jamestown colonists cleared their lands, while Robinson's congregation were petitioning in vain for permission to occupy the newly opened region, and Champlain pushed westward from Quebec, Dutch traders found their way along the Hudson and the Mohawk and laid foundations for a New Netherlands.

The Dutch West India Company

But the occupation of the Hudson River valley was the least of Dutch activities in these eventful years. For while England and France were forced to be content with their experiments in the western world and what crumbs of eastern trade they could pick up between the Dutch and Portuguese, the Netherlands aspired to nothing less than the domination of the whole world of trade and colonies. Projects for settling South America were revived. The Zealand stations on the Oyapok were strengthened. With aid of English and Huguenot refugees a post was founded on the Essequibo and another on the Amazon; and, as the Twelve Years' Truce drew to an end and the fortunes of Oldenbarneveldt declined, the plans of William Usselincx, an Antwerp refugee, long held in abeyance by the pacific policy of the Advocate, revived under the stimulus of the Orange patronage. A year after the founding of the Plymouth colony they culminated in the establish-
1621 ment of the Dutch West India Company. Its privileges were symbolic of the times which gave it birth. It was granted monopoly of commerce and navigation in west Africa, east and west America, and organized like the East India Company from the chambers of commerce with a Council of Nineteen at its head. At once an ally and an instrument of the government in the war with Spain, now on the point of being renewed, it was granted a subsidy by the States General, and promised naval aid. Thus it became scarcely less a military and political than a commercial enterprise. Its capital, subscribed from patriotic motives as well as the hope of dividends, exceeded that of its eastern rival by half a million


+ Fort nieuw Amſterdam op de Manhatans

New Amsterdam, about 1630.

From Hartgers's *Beschrijvingh van Virginia*. Interesting not only in itself, but as an example of the numerous descriptions of the world produced in Holland during the 17th century.

florins; and when, two years after it was launched, its subscription books were closed, the United Provinces, especially the Orange party, now in control of Dutch affairs, possessed in this new corporation a powerful weapon against their Spanish enemies.

The issue was now joined. In Germany the struggle between the communions was fully under way; in America three nations contended with each other and with their common enemy, Spain, for a foothold; and through the East, as everywhere on the sea, the Netherlands challenged the dominion of the world of trade. On every field the conflict between the old order and the new, in religion, in politics, and in commerce, brought to a head the irreconcilable ambitions and interests of rival schools of faith and policy and interests. Whatever the result, it was now evident that Europe would experience, in every phase of her activity, not merely a new series of events but new conditions in her development. And if, for the time being, the concerns of war and diplomacy bulked larger on her immediate horizon, it was no less evident, to far-seeing men, that the not distant future held the promise of wider policies and more far-reaching activities than those which then absorbed her greatest energies. Among these the exploitation of America was not the least.

CHAPTER XIX

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR. 1623-1642

The situation of Europe

At noon of All Saints' Day, 1517, the Wittenberg professor of philosophy, Martin Luther, had nailed to the door of the castle church in that quiet German university town his ninety-five theses against the doctrine of indulgences as then proclaimed and practised by the Papal authority. A hundred years later, almost to a day, there had burst forth in Bohemia a controversy which, scarcely less insignificant in its external aspects than the act of the German reformer, was productive of a conflict almost as widespread, and of even bloodier consequence than the original agitation which flowed from Luther's opposition to the Papal practices. If the beginning of the Thirty Years' War proved nothing else, it demonstrated three things,—that the older religious unity of western Christendom was gone beyond recall, that ecclesiastical issues were an active factor in public affairs and international relationships, and that the manifold efforts of the Hapsburg house to unify Germany under its direct sovereignty had made no headway in the preceding century and a half.

The great conflict which had begun a hundred years from the time when Luther drew up his Resolutions in defense of his position, had by the year 1623 entered upon the second stage of its long and bloody progress. Already its champions, like its character, had begun to change. Save in so far as they represent the tendencies of the time, or react against them, the accession of new rulers is seldom of much moment in the evolution of human affairs. But, as at certain other periods of European history, the seven years which followed the outbreak of war in Bohemia brought on the stage a group of kings, captains, and statesmen destined to play decisive parts in the political fortunes of the continent.

Three years after the beginning of the struggle in Germany, the pious Philip III of Spain had died, his spirit broken by the appalling evidence of his nation's decadence. 1621
The favorites who had battened on the state had been dismissed. His people, now bankrupt and desolate, mourned his virtuous incompetence, but continued with proud and devoted stubbornness their hopeless conflicts in Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy, and across the sea, maintaining still their arrogant, impossible claims to determine Europe's faith and future. At the same time the United Provinces, deprived of the services of Oldenbarneveldt, found, when they took up again the burden of their war of independence against Spain, after the Twelve Years' Truce, that, as Maurice himself declared, "nothing went well after the death of the Advocate." Threatened by the forces of his skilful adversary, the Spanish general, Spinola, the Prince of Nassau barely managed to hold his own, while his people, apart from harassing the power of Spain, were for the time unable to give their German co-religionists any effective aid.

France and England

France and England were in little better case. Under the boy king, Louis XIII, France was weakened by intrigue and civil war; and it was not until the commanding genius of Richelieu made itself supreme in the royal councils that his nation again took its share in European politics. As the long, feeble reign of James I wore to a close, England played a like unheroic part. The "British Solomon" had seen his fatuous foreign policy of a Spanish marriage go to wreck. The quarrel with his advanced Protestant subjects, the Puritans, grew from bad to worse. His relations with his new Parliament strained to the breaking-point, as his financial expedients, his claims to absolutism, and his failure to help the German situation, combined to alienate almost every element of his people from him. Nor was his successor more able or more fortunate. Two years after his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, was driven into exile, James' death brought to the English throne his pious, obstinate son, 1625
Charles, with whose reign began a still more troubled period of English history.

Eastern Europe

Meanwhile, eastern Europe revealed a new alignment of powers and a new race of princes. The long reign of Michael Romanoff gave way to that of his successor, with no great result, either in character or importance to the world at large. The declining strength of Poland and Turkish lethargy left therefore but two powers to be considered in that quarter of the world. The first was Sweden, whose heroic king, Gustavus Adolphus, was now lord of the ascendant in the Baltic lands. The second was Denmark, whose ruler, Christian IV, aspired to play a part in European politics; and, like his Swedish colleague and rival, looked with anxious eyes upon the situation which had developed in Germany.

The Danish period of the Thirty Years' War 1625-9

It was, indeed, high time for these northern princes to take thought for the morrow, since, if German Protestantism was to be saved, there was pressing need for some champion to appear on its behalf; and if the Baltic states were to maintain their position, it was no less necessary to check the advancing power of the Imperialists. For seldom had the cause of the reformed communions seemed more desperate than in those days when Bohemia and the Palatinate fell from their grasp. The victories of the Bavarians and the imperial forces had not, it is true, extinguished resistance. There remained the army of Mansfeld; and while the drums of his recruiting officers beat up reinforcements in other lands for his service, the Danish king, supported by subsidies from England and the Netherlands, drew together an army and pushed into northern Germany. There, in his capacity as Duke of Holstein and head of the lower Saxon Circle, he proposed to challenge the Imperial and Catholic supremacy, and, conjointly with his Mecklenburg allies, to champion the Protestant interest.

The moment seemed propitious. Now that their own aims had been attained, neither the new Elector, Maximilian of Bavaria, nor the Catholic League were overzealous in the Emperor's cause, save on their own somewhat excessive terms. Ferdinand himself was no general, and his abilities had been directed toward the settlement of Bohemia, whose population had been decimated by the war and whose lands had been distributed among his loyal Austrian Catholic nobility. At the moment, therefore, that Mansfeld failed to save Breda 1625 from Spinola, and Gustavus overran Courland and conquered ducal Prussia, the Danish king poured his troops across the border, and Bethlen Gabor prepared to threaten Vienna with his Transylvanian army, in a joint attempt to relieve the Protestants. Tilly advanced into Saxony to meet this new danger, and the Danish period of the Thirty Years' War began, not inauspiciously for the Danish king.

Wallenstein

But the success he promised himself was short-lived. In the midst of his embarrassment the Emperor found relief from an unexpected quarter. Among the numerous adventurers who had hastened to enrich themselves by buying in Bohemian estates, one, Albert of Wallenstein, who had taken a prominent part in the Bohemian war and made his reputation by service against Venice, revealed the talents and audacity which were to place him high among the great ones of the earth. To him the Emperor intrusted his defense; and from the masses of mercenaries which the spoil of Germany had drawn into her wars, he was authorized to recruit a force, dependent on his genius for its form and leadership, and on pillage for its support. Thus equipped, he fell suddenly upon Mansfeld's forces, defeated them, killed their 1626 leader, and drove them through Silesia and Hungary till they found refuge with Bethlen Gabor, who had been compelled to withdraw again into Transylvania.

Meanwhile Tilly had beaten Christian IV at Lutter in Brunswick; and, following their successes, the two imperialist commanders joined to conquer Holstein. Thence Wallenstein proceeded to overrun Schleswig and Jutland; drove out the dukes of Mecklenburg; and forced the duke of Pomerania to submit to the imperial power. Silesia was compelled to like submission. Bethlen Gabor, deprived of the assistance of the Turks by their treaty with the Emperor, was rendered powerless. Baden was overpowered by the imperial troops; and Germany cleared of Protestant forces. For his great services Wallenstein was created Duke of Friedland, promised the estates of the dukes of Mecklenburg, and allowed to assume the title of Admiral of the Baltic. It was only when his conquering advance reached the walls of Stralsund that his progress was stayed; and his failure to capture that city, with Tilly's repulse from Glückstadt, marked the high tide of Catholic-Imperial success.

1628

The Peace of Lübeck 1629

As a result of that success, six years after Frederick had been driven from the Palatinate, this second or Danish period of the war was crowned by readjustments flowing from imperial ascendency in northern Germany. By the Peace of Lübeck, Christian regained his lost territory in return for the abandonment of his allies and his promise to take no further part in German affairs. For his commanding services Wallenstein became the first subject of the empire, with grants of lands, among which the dominions of the dukes of Mecklenburg, now placed under the imperial ban, were included. Finally the great Edict of Restitution put into effect the terms of the so-called "ecclesiastical reservations," which had been left undecided by the Peace of Augsburg. Under this arrangement all the ecclesiastical estates whose rulers had turned Protestant since the Peace of Passau three-quarters of a century before, were now restored to Catholic hands. By such means the archbishoprics of Bremen and Magdeburg, a dozen bishoprics, and ten times that number of monastic domains were wrested from the reformed communions. Moreover, only Lutherans were recognized. All others were left to the mercy of their enemies; and how scant that mercy was the ravages of Wallenstein's followers and those of the League soon witnessed. Dark as the prospect had seemed six years before, when Frederick had been driven from Bohemia and the Palatinate, the Protestant outlook now seemed darker still; for as the Imperial Catholic designs to crush the reformed communions were reinforced by Wallenstein's ambitions and abilities, the case seemed all but desperate to their opponents.

And the Edict of Restitution

The disagreements among the Catholics

But from apparently certain destruction the Protestants were preserved by discords among their enemies. Scarcely had the great Edict been issued when the Diet of Regensburg revealed how widely the views of the Emperor differed from those of Maximilian of Bavaria and the Catholic League. Had it been possible for Ferdinand to accomplish the old Hapsburg design of making the imperial power supreme in a united Germany, the fate of the reformed communions would have been sealed. But in the minds of the Catholic princes the fear of a powerful centralized monarchy vested in the house of Hapsburg was stronger than the dislike of the Protestants; and in the antagonism between the imperial and the princely policies and ambitions their opponents found, if not security, at least a breathing-space. The Bavarian Elector and his adherents of the Catholic League demanded the dismissal of Wallenstein and the disbanding of his forces on the well-grounded charge of the destruction which his licensed freebooters were inflicting upon Germany. The Emperor was driven to consent; and, with the loss of the great general and his army, the imperial authority, deprived of its chief support, gradually relaxed, while the miserable **1630** inhabitants of northern Germany were relieved from the more imminent pressure of the sufferings which the war had brought upon them.

In such fashion ended the second stage of the great conflict, after twelve years of unexampled destruction. Measured by its immediate results, it had but carried out the promise of the earlier period. To all external appearance German Protestantism seemed doomed. Stripped of Bohemia, the Palatinate, and great parts of northern Germany, divided against itself, and with its Danish and Transylvanian champions driven from the field, its own armies destroyed, and its ablest generals dead, only some miracle of outside support to aid its stubborn but thus far ineffectual resistance offered even a hope of its persistence in German polity. When the conflict had been at its height some years before it had been declared with bitter satire that the Netherlands would send a hundred thousand kits of herring, the Danes a hundred thousand tubs of butter, and the English king a hundred thousand ambassadors to the aid of their coreligionists in Germany. Now it seemed that even this mythical assistance was out of the question.

The other states of Europe —Spain

This triumph of the reactionary element was emphasized by events elsewhere in Europe. While the Danes had made their futile effort to preserve the German Protestants and improve their own position, the rest of Europe had seen profound changes. In Italy the long pontificate of Urban VIII, however disturbed by German and Italian wars, had done much to revive Papal authority. In Spain the rise of a great minister, Olivarez, had begun to galvanize the state into a fierce if feverish activity, which gave it, for the time being, the semblance of its old greatness. Once more the nation appeared in the front rank of military powers; once more armadas were prepared to crush the Dutch, and armies raised for new projects in Italy. It was, indeed, the last flicker of the burned-out candle; and the ambitious policy was destined only to lessen the remaining vigor of the state. But for the moment it served its purpose in the elevation of the Catholic power in the European world.

France under Richelieu

Beyond the Pyrenees, meanwhile, the greatest of all French statesmen-ecclesiastics, Richelieu, rose to the height of an authority scarcely equaled on the continent, and, with his ascendancy, set his nation upon a path which led to predominance in European councils. He had become chief minister in the same year that Christian IV planned his descent on Germany, and his rise to unquestioned supremacy in French councils had been coincident with the Danish period of the great war. In that conflict he and his nation for the time took no part. As the struggle was joined across the Rhine, the Huguenots rose in rebellion against the crown, and Richelieu's energies were directed to the suppression of the powerful faction which threatened the very integrity of France. His efforts were successful. In spite of their strength throughout the land, in spite of their desperate resistance, and the all but impregnable position of the chief city of La Rochelle, in spite of English attempts to succor the last stronghold of Protestantism in France, the Huguenot capital was compelled to submit. At the very moment that the Danish king was driven back to his own land, La Rochelle fell into the hands of the French government. Thence the

1625-

1628

great minister led his victorious forces against the Spaniards in Italy, and brought back fresh honors for his nation. The nobles rebelled in vain against his growing ascendancy and that of the crown. The Queen Mother found her efforts to check his rising authority no less ineffectual; and, as the Danish period of the German war came to an end, the Cardinal-minister stood out as a force to be reckoned with thenceforth in European politics.

England under Charles I 1625-

This reviving French ascendancy was the more pronounced in that England had meanwhile fallen on evil days. James I's reign had ended with bitter animosities in church and state; nor did his son Charles, on coming to the throne, abate the popular discontent. He joined, indeed, with Holland to subsidize Christian IV's invasion of Germany, which coincided with his accession to the throne. He sent three expeditions to aid the Rochellois in their resistance to Richelieu. But his efforts to assist the continental Protestants failed ignominiously, owing in no small degree to the incompetence of his favorites, especially the arrogant and incapable Duke of Buckingham, who virtually directed English affairs. At home Charles further embroiled the crown with Parliament. He was denounced for alleged innovations in church and state, for illegalities in raising revenue, for the employment of favorites; and when he retorted by imprisoning the popular leaders, the antagonism between the king and Commons came to open breach. The Petition of Right, which summed up the people's grievances and so became one of the great landmarks of English constitutional history, completed the estrangement. Four years after his accession, at the same moment that the Edict of Restitution was promulgated in Germany, and the Peace of Alais brought the conflict between the crown and Huguenots to an end in France, Charles dissolved his Parliament, made peace with France and Spain, and began a long and perilous experiment in absolute government which finally alienated his people from the crown, and was destined to end in civil war. **1629**

Thus as the third decade of the seventeenth century came to an end, the European world found itself confronted with the apparent triumph of Catholicism and absolute royal power. England and Denmark were withdrawn from further interference in Germany. Mansfeld and Bethlen Gabor were dead; and the Protestant states were left to endure the Catholic Imperial ascendancy as best they could. The Calvinists, in particular, were compelled to bear the brunt of the conflict alone, as the great Edict went into force. Huguenot resistance was crushed in France; Parliamentary government at an end in England.

Holland under Frederick Henry 1625-47

One power remained in western Europe. In the same twelvemonth that Charles I came to the English throne, and Richelieu to the head of French affairs, Frederick Henry of Orange-Nassau succeeded his brother Maurice as Stadtholder of the United Provinces. With his accession the fortunes of the state he came to rule revealed a strength which rivaled or surpassed those of far more populous nations, and did much to redress the balance thus weighted against the Protestant peoples of the continent.

The second quarter of the seventeenth century was in every way the golden age of Holland. In arts and arms, in colonies and commerce, in intellect and achievement, she enjoyed a primacy out of all proportion to her resources or her size; while in wealth and general prosperity her people surpassed all other nations of the continent. Thanks to her policy of toleration which insured freedom of speech and residence to all, her own sturdy stock was reinforced by men of learning and ability from many other states, who sought within her borders the privileges denied to them at home. Her world-wide commerce and political interests served to broaden her horizon. Her social system and her polity, which afforded to thought and speech a license elsewhere unknown, combined to make her the most enlightened power in Europe, pre-eminent in almost every field of human endeavor of the time. Home of the greatest living philosopher, Descartes; of the historian and the founder of international law, Grotius; her brilliant group of scholars and scientists, Scaliger, the Vossii, Lipsius, Heinsius, and their colleagues, had made that child of the Revolution, the University of

Leyden, the most famous seat of learning of its time. The United Netherlands were no less remarkable in other fields, with "statesmen of letters" like Huyghens, Hooft, and Cats. Her artists like Wouverman and Cuyp, Rembrandt and Hals, and their many contemporaries by their genius made Holland the art center of the European world, her only rival her cousin, the Flemish Netherlands. With great commanders on land and sea, like Willekens and Heinsius and Frederick William himself; with diplomats like Aerssens, Lord of Sommelsdijk, whom Richelieu declared one of the three greatest men he ever met; the United Provinces now became what Italy had been a century before to art and science, what England had been more recently to letters and sea-power, what France was to become in war and diplomacy,—the leading nation of the European world. Yet with all her eminence in so many fields, it was not from the Netherlands that there came any direct relief to German Protestants. That service was rendered by a very different hand.

Sweden under Gustavus Adolphus

At the same moment that Holland achieved this ascendancy in the west, the Baltic lands emerged into that same circle of interests, though under different auspices and in different fashion from their Dutch co-religionists. While Germany had been filled with the contentions of Catholic and Protestant, Imperialists and princes, the northern powers had been absorbed in another and to them a no less decisive conflict. In the twelvemonth that the Elector Palatine, fleeing from before the Imperialists, had abandoned his short-lived Bohemian sovereignty, Poland had been attacked by 1620 Sweden and the Turks. The latter, despite their early success, were soon brought to terms of peace; but the struggle between Poland and Sweden had run parallel with the war in Germany. Under the leadership of Gustavus the Swedes took Riga and Mitau, invaded Lithuania, and conquered Livonia. Thereafter, amid alternate victories and defeats, the Swedish king pushed his forces along the Baltic shores, taking Elbing and Marienburg and blocking Danzig, till he was checked by Polish successes. At the moment that Den- 1629
mark and the Empire signed the Peace of Lübeck and the

Edict of Restitution was issued, Sweden and Poland came to terms in the so-called truce of Altmark. Thence Gustavus turned his eyes toward Germany, where he feared the collapse of Protestantism only less than the threat of Wallenstein's successes in the north against Swedish ambitions in the Baltic. At that moment, too, France was relieved from the Huguenot danger; and the far-seeing statesmanship of Richelieu, marking its opportunity to enlist the Swedish power in a deadly thrust against the Hapsburg house, proffered Gustavus a subsidy for an attack on Germany.

France and Sweden

Perhaps no single act in this momentous period revealed more clearly the altering character of events than this; for the same hand which had struck down the Protestants of France was thus held out to save their German brethren from destruction,—and that hand belonged to a prince of the Catholic church. It was the symbol of a new era in the great war. With the entry of Sweden and France into that struggle, its religious character, already complicated by the antagonism of the imperial and the princely ambitions, became a part of the long-standing Franco-Hapsburg rivalry.

Of all those kaleidoscopic changes which make the Thirty Years' War one of the great dramatic episodes of history, few are more remarkable than the sudden reversal of parts which overtook the combatants midway between the outbreak of hostilities and the first steps toward peace. After a dozen years of almost continuous conflict, the enforcement of the Edict of Restitution marked the nadir of Protestant fortunes. The war had weakened the power and reduced the area of the reformed communions, the Edict threatened their very existence. And as the troops of Wallenstein and the Catholic League were summoned to enforce a settlement which would have set back the hands of the clock more than three-quarters of a century, it almost seemed that the labors of Luther and Calvin had been in vain, so far as Germany was concerned.

The crisis of the Thirty Years' War

On the face of affairs nothing appeared more probable than that the triumph of the Imperial and Catholic authority, despite their differences, was only a matter of time, and no long time; nothing seemed less likely than that any combination of circumstances could shake their ultimate supremacy. But the very success of the divergent elements among the Imperialist Catholics set the impossible on its way to accomplishment. However much the Emperor and the Catholic League found themselves indebted to Wallenstein; however they had profited by his abilities, they now began to fear the ambitions of their savior more than they dreaded the dangers from which he had preserved them. That feeling was further embittered by the pillage and cruelties practised by his army, which lived on free quarters; and, at the height of the Catholic-Imperial success, the Emperor was compelled to dismiss the great commander and disband a great part of his forces. Wallenstein thereupon retired to his Bohemian estates, which had been part of the reward of his great services. There he rivalled the imperial court in ostentatious luxury and meditated those far-reaching plans which had roused the envy and fear of those who dreaded the power of the uncrowned "dictator of Germany."

Yet it was alone not the withdrawal of the great partisan which gave such dramatic emphasis to the summer of 1630 in Germany. It could not be supposed that a conflict involving the fortunes of the rival communions and threatening the political balance of the continent should not affect the neighboring powers. France, however Catholic, had reason to fear Hapsburg ascendancy. The rising power of Protestant Sweden looked with jealous eye not only on the triumph of Catholicism, but on the conquests of Wallenstein which trenched on the sphere of her own territorial ambitions. Thus, at the height of the Imperialist success, France and Sweden alike prepared to dispute the further advance of Ferdinand and his great general.

The arrival of the Swedes 1630

The Baltic power was the first to move. During those same days of June that Wallenstein was retired from his command, in a remote corner of the Empire a new Protestant champion was busy disembarking that army which, in a twelvemonth, was to alter the face of German, and, indeed, of European politics. At the same moment those Protestant princes who had been little moved by purely religious issues began to draw together in defense of their title to lands now threatened by the Edict; while the masses of Lutherans and Calvinists, driven to desperation by the well-grounded fear of annihilation, and preparing for a last stand against the Catholic Imperialists, were nerved to fresh resistance by the prospect of deliverance.

The story goes that when the news of the landing of an army in Pomerania came to Vienna the courtiers hastened to inquire where lay the lands of this invader who now challenged the imperial supremacy,—"the snow-king and his body-guard." Yet the name of Gustavus Adolphus, "King of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, grand prince of Finland, duke of Esthonia," was not unknown in Europe. Russia and Poland had felt the weight of his power in the preceding twenty years. Wallenstein, who had sworn to take Stralsund "though it were attached by chains to Heaven," had seen his prey snatched from him by that hand. And the far-seeing Richelieu, who furnished the subsidy for this great adventure, had recognized in this "Star of the North" a weapon by which the house of Hapsburg might be dealt a mortal blow. For the Swedish king, backed by his veteran army, had already proved himself one of the great captains of history, not inferior to the only worthy antagonist which Europe then held, the Duke of Friedland, Wallenstein.

The rise of Sweden

Gustavus' advent in Germany was the climax of a long period of Swedish development. The eastern half of the great Scandinavian peninsula, Sweden, seemed destined to rule the Baltic. Her hardy inhabitants, with their kinsmen of Denmark and Norway, had been almost the last converts to Christianity. Long after western Europe had come under the influence of Rome, as the fierce heathen Norsemen and Danes carved principalities for themselves in England and France, and settled the islands of the north and west, the Swedes had founded dukedoms in Russia and carried their arms as far south as Byzantium. With Christianity came a long era of uneasy peace. The land, divided only less than Norway by its mountains into small lordships, resisted attempts of the ruling dynasty to bring its independent spirits under royal yoke. At the close of the fourteenth century the Union of Calmar united the three Scandinavian kingdoms 1397 under the Danish crown. But the efforts to crush the Swedish nobles' power, after a hundred years and more of strife, collapsed at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It has already been related how, while Luther led the Protestant Revolt and Cortez conquered Mexico, a Swedish nobleman, Gustavus Vasa, under romantic circumstances, had headed a successful rebellion against Danish authority, and had begun that stormy career which was to set his country in the first rank of European powers for an eventful century.

The Vasas and Gustavus Adolphus

The history of Sweden's greatness was that of the Vasa family. Its founder adopted the Lutheran doctrines, which became the faith of the state; but the conflict between the old communion and the new was, like the coincident struggle in England, long indecisive. It was not finally determined till the close of the sixteenth century. Then the king's brother compelled his nephew, the legal heir, Sigismund, the Catholic king of Poland, to renounce the Swedish crown, which he himself assumed, as Charles IX. His design of making Sweden the dominant northern power and himself the head of a great Protestant league, led him, naturally, into conflict with his neighbors; and his son, the young Gustavus, inherited the wars and the ambitions of his father. When he invaded Germany he had been king of Sweden nearly twenty years, and most of them had been spent in arms. His struggle with Denmark had been indecisive. That with Russia had given him command of most of the eastern shore of the Baltic; while the conflict with Poland, which had just ended in a truce, provided him a foothold in northeastern Germany.

From these wars he drew the experience which made him so formidable an enemy, and the well-equipped, well-disciplined, veteran troops the finest fighting force in Europe. By means of war he had diverted the restless nobility from further attack upon the crown authority. By the reorganization of his government into a bureaucracy, the encouragement of commerce, and the building of towns, he had at once enlisted the support of the middle classes and united all national elements in the common pursuit of glory and of gain. His diplomacy was not less successful. His assembly protested against the German adventure on the ground of danger and expense. But the French subsidy made their refusal of supplies ineffectual to prevent the undertaking; and the fear that the Emperor might secure the coveted southern Baltic ports gave the last impetus to his decision.

Gustavus' advance

Yet his advent at first seemed unpropitious. Much as they hated and feared the Catholic Imperialists, the Protestant princes, even Gustavus' brother-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg, looked with little favor on the intervention of a foreigner. The people in general, with the horrors of war still upon them, feared a repetition of Wallenstein's marauding policy. But both elements were gradually reassured. The Swedish discipline prevented pillage. The king's cautious advance through Pomerania into Brandenburg, securing his position as he went, gave neither his enemies nor the neutral princes an opportunity to crush or betray him. His treaty with Pomerania guarded at once its interests and his own; 1631 and when the imperial forces under Tilly captured the Protestant stronghold of Magdeburg, massacred its inhabitants, and burned the town, a sudden revulsion of sentiment and interest brought allies to the Swedish king. Joined by John George of Saxony, he advanced to Leipzig, and there, on the field of Breitenfeld, fifteen months after his landing, the Imperialists were defeated. Thence he advanced to southern Germany, despatching his Saxon ally to Bohemia. Through Thuringia and Franconia to the Danube and the Rhine, defeating Tilly again at Rain, taking Augsburg and Munich, besieging Maximilian in Ingolstadt, and finally establishing themselves in camp near Nuremberg, the Swedes became the dominant power in the Empire.

Wallenstein

Against them the Emperor and the League had proved helpless and, in this crisis, all eyes turned to Wallenstein. He was at first obdurate to the imperial appeals, consenting, only after long supplication, to raise a force but refusing its command. The magic of his name called to his standard fifty thousand men. His genius formed them into an army, dependent on himself. Still he refused command till, in despair, the Emperor yielded all. Wallenstein was created commander-in-chief, not only of the Emperor's forces and those of the Archdukes, but of the Spanish troops. An Austrian hereditary territory was to be given him. He was empowered to confiscate estates, grant pardons and reliefs, and have sovereign jurisdiction over conquered lands. No such powers have ever been conferred by any sovereign, before or since, as these which, were he successful, would have made this great adventurer the master of Germany.

Lützen and the death of Gustavus

The end seemed to justify the means. Almost at once Wallenstein drove the Saxons from Prague; and, with the Elector of Bavaria, he advanced to form a camp over against that of the Swedes at Nuremberg. Thence he turned to cut Gustavus' communications and overpower Saxony, and, to check this, the Swedes hastened by forced marches to forestall him. At Lützen, near the scene of the first great Swedish victory, the forces met, with results disastrous to both sides. The Imperialists were defeated decisively, with the loss of their greatest cavalry leader, Pappenheim. But the triumph of the Swedes in the great battle which saw them reach the summit of their fortunes was dearly bought; for, at the moment of victory, their king met his death. It was the greatest loss his party could have sustained, and for the time it seemed irreparable. But though none of his generals possessed his ability, the Swedes did not lack competent commanders trained in his school; and in the chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna, they found a statesman-diplomatist not unequal to Gustavus himself. Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, Baner, and Horn assumed command of the army. The chancellor took direction of foreign affairs; and a league was formed between the Swedes and the German circles of Swabia, Franconia, and the Rhine provinces, while France continued to support their cause.

1632

The disgrace and death of Wallenstein

Even so, the Protestant allies might well have feared the Catholic-Imperialist-Spanish forces commanded by the genius of Wallenstein. But in this crisis, as before, that alliance again collapsed. The scarcely veiled ambitions of the Imperialist general, whose ability had raised him to the position of an all but independent power in Europe, provoked suspicion as well as jealousy. The Spanish party, in particular, was fearful of his schemes. Their fear was not without foundation. After Gustavus' death, Wallenstein had done little to offend the Swedes; he had negotiated with them, the Saxons, and the French; and, apart from what wider dreams he had of winning for himself a kingdom in Germany, he had determined to overthrow the Spanish influence in the Empire. The consequences were not long delayed. Fifteen months, almost to a day, from the battle of Lützen an imperial proclamation removed him from his command; and a week later he was assassinated by some of his own officers whom the Emperor richly rewarded for their treachery.

1634

The Peace of Prague 1635

Hard on the crowning tragedy of this momentous period, the Imperialist victory over the Swedes at Nördlingen apparently put the game again in the hands of the Emperor, and when, in the following year, the Peace of Prague was signed between him and the Elector of Saxony, the conflict seemed inclining to a termination favorable to the Imperial and Catholic interests. That peace, accepted by most of the Protestant estates, including Brandenburg, gave to the possessors of estates confiscated before the convention of Passau perpetual ownership. All others were to remain as they were in November, 1627, for forty years, and, barring a new arrangement before the end of that period, forever thereafter. With this, with amnesty for the Bohemian-Palatinate disturbances, with toleration for the Lutherans, and an agreement to make common cause against the Swedes the third phase of the German conflict came to an end.

The entry of France

But if any of the diplomats who drew up this treaty believed the end of struggle was at hand, or even brought nearer by its terms, they were soon undeceived. It was far from the plans of the outside powers to allow Germany to settle her own affairs. Where Gustavus left off Richelieu began. It had been the policy and the subsidies of France which had called in the Swedes against the Empire and maintained their armies after their king's death. It had been the Spanish party and the League which had pushed on the dismissal of Wallenstein; and it was his death which had checked his deep designs looking toward the expulsion of Spanish influence and the enforcement of imperial peace, together with what personal aggrandizement he had dreamed of in a reformed Empire. It was the Peace of Prague, with its Lutheran concessions, which left Sweden and France the chief opponents of the Emperor and his Spanish supporters as the conflict declined into a phase of the long-standing Bourbon-Hapsburg rivalry.

The Swedish-French period 1635-48

The seven years which followed the Peace of Prague, therefore, saw rather a shifting of interests than any cessation in conflict. For four years France confined her efforts to the support of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, who strove to conquer a new state for himself in place of that duchy of Franconia which the battle of Nördlingen had cost him. After his death French generals and French troops as well as French subsidies were poured into Germany to retain what their ally had won. Meanwhile the Swedes under Baner had won the **1636** battle of Wittstock over the Saxons and the Imperialists, and secured themselves in northern Germany as France had established her power along the Rhine with the capture of **1638** Breisach.

But already the actors in the drama were changing. The long-enduring Ferdinand II was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand III, who, above all things, was desirous of peace. Three years thereafter George William of Brandenburg was followed by that Frederick William, to whom a later generation gave the title of the Great Elector. The ducal house of Pomerania became extinct; and Baner's death brought Torstenson to the command of the Swedish armies. Of these changes only the last had no effect upon the situation of affairs, for Sweden's military ascendancy remained unimpaired. Within a year after his succession to command Torstenson defeated the Imperialists at Leipzig and laid the **1642** hereditary estates of the Emperor open to invasion. The effect of his continued success was twofold. On the one hand, the imperial authorities were the more inclined to peace; and, even before his last victory, preliminary steps toward a con-

gress had been held at Hamburg, which the advance of Swedish arms had accelerated. Meanwhile the Danes, jealous of Swedish ascendancy, had seized the opportunity to fall upon their rivals in the rear. But Christian's forces were overwhelmed by Torstenson, whose rapid advance carried
1643 him across Holstein and Schleswig to Jutland and compelled the Danish king to sue for peace at the same moment that the Austrians and Bavarians checked the successes of the French in the south.

Thenceforth the contest resolved itself into a series of efforts on the part of either side to influence the negotiations begun at Münster and Osnabrück in Westphalia, and the remaining operations of the Swedish-Danish war. These last, however destructive and however expressive of national and dynastic forces, were of small importance to any interests save those of the ambitious rulers who sought the advantage of their respective governments at the expense of Europe
England generally. Far more significant were the circumstances in the British Isles, where, in these years, the differences between the people and the crown, and the concurrent controversy between the church and the dissenters, had gradually tended
1637 toward armed conflict. There, in the same year that Sweden and France had finally established themselves in northern and western Germany, the trial of an English squire for refusing to pay his assessment of ship-money, and the outbreak against the use of the English liturgy in Scotland, brought the crisis to a head. And there, in the same months that the diplomats assembled for the great congress which was to end the German war, the English king took arms
1642 against his people and so precipitated a conflict of no less importance to Europe than the one now entering its final stage.

CHAPTER XX

COMMERCE AND COLONIES. 1621-1642

THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND; THE DUTCH EMPIRE AND THE DECLINE OF SPAIN

Europe beyond the sea

BESIDE the earth-compelling conflict in Germany, the rise of Sweden and Holland to the rank of first-rate powers, and the emergence of France again into international importance, the concerns of the extra-European world during the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century may well seem of minor importance. Yet, it has been observed, those concerns, even in their earlier stages, were by no means insignificant, in relation to the fortunes of the continent. During the period now being considered they yield little in importance even to Protestantism's fight for life, or to the revival of royal authority in France and its decline in England. For the conflicts between rival communions and opposing schools of political thought were scarcely less evident in the struggle for sea-power between Spain and the Netherlands and in the colonizing of North America than they were in Germany and England, nor destined to less ultimate consequence. If these needed proof of their importance it might be found in the attitude of the greatest statesman of the time toward extra-European enterprises and affairs.

France

The great French minister, Richelieu, had early perceived his opportunity in the Atlantic no less than in central Europe; and, as Coligni more than half a century before had seen in America a refuge for his persecuted co-religionists, so now the Cardinal dreamed of a great empire oversea. Amid the manifold concerns which filled the early years of his administration, none was of greater interest to him than the formation of a naval force able to contend with Huguenot resistance, protect French coasts and commerce, and give his country a place in what he recognized as the new world politics. He created, and himself assumed, the post of "grand master and superintendent of navigation," doubled the Mediterranean fleet, and built a navy for the high seas, among whose vessels the *Couronne,* of two thousand tons burden, marked a fresh advance in naval construction. "For no kingdom," he declared, "is so well situated nor so rich in all the necessary means of being mistress of the seas as France."

He was no less concerned with trade and colonies. Scarcely was he in power when he projected the so-called Company of Morbihan, to trade with America; and when that design was defeated by the refusal of the Breton parlement to sanction what it regarded as an infringement of its people's rights, 1627 he revived the Company of New France as the Company of the Hundred Associates, in which Champlain became a leading figure. The Company of St. Christopher and that strangely named *Compagnie de la Nocelle de St. Pierre Fleurdelisée* were set up; and with these he proposed to extend French trade and power in the New World.

These far-reaching plans broke on the rock of foreign policy. England, seeking to aid the Huguenots, despatched 1629 a squadron to Quebec, carried its settlers away, and for a time balked Richelieu's designs. And though the African pirates were repressed, though commerce was revived with northwest Africa, and the Company of St. Christopher occupied the island which gave it name, the effort to plant a settlement in the Caribbean failed in the face of Spanish and English hostility. Thus French trade, like French colonization, for the moment felt no fresh impulse. To all intents it seemed that its prospects were scarcely more promising than the plans of Sweden, which had secured the services of the founder of the Dutch West India Company, Usselincx, to plant a settlement in Australia. But this was due neither to Richelieu's lack of interest nor to the insignificance of the prize he sought. Rather it was the inevitable consequence of the situation in which he found himself, and of forces beyond even his control.

England —in the East Meanwhile England, amid her disturbances at home and her disappointments abroad, fared somewhat better. The English East India Company, indeed, had fallen on evil days. It was hampered by royal shortsightedness, which refused to look upon the eastern trade as a national concern. It was disinclined to send its ablest men abroad, and it was disturbed by English interlopers no less than by the Dutch. Not until nearly a decade after Amboyna, when the establishment of a new dynasty in Golconda and the extension of Mogul power over Gujerat gave it the support of native authority which its system of trade required, did it begin to recover from the injuries which the Dutch had wrought. For it had prospered meanwhile scarcely more than the Danish company whose posts, neglected by a monarch absorbed in German wars, only endured by sufferance of the Dutch. **1632**

—in America But in the West Englishmen found compensation for their failure in the East. Among the claims which James I's reign has to remembrance, perhaps the chief is that it was the time when his subjects established themselves in America. Their efforts were not confined to Virginia and New England. English settlements were projected north and south of these original colonies; and it is probable that these contributed to her first plantations more than they or their successors realized.

The year following the Pilgrims' landing at Plymouth, **1621** an ambitious Scotchman, Sir William Alexander, secured a patent for Acadia, re-named Nova Scotia. Upon Charles' accession that shadowy sovereignty was divided into baronies and efforts made to find settlers. At the same time, George **1625-6** Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, bent on that "ancient, primitive, and heroic work of planting the world," had secured a charter for the so-called province of Avalon, in Newfoundland, and sent colonists thither. Already, too, James had conferred the island of St. Kitts upon William Warren. Now, what was of far more consequence, the fertile island of Barbados, abandoned by Spain, visited and claimed by Englishmen many years before, became a center of colonizing

activity. Granted first to the Earl of Marlborough; settled
1625 by a London merchant-prince, Courteen; re-granted to Lord Carlisle; and finally re-colonized by the Society of London Merchants, it was at last reduced to order, amid conflicts of rival interests and settlers, and entered the circle of British colonies at the same time that the Dutch settled the coast opposite.

While England thus confirmed her occupation of the West Indies and the St. Lawrence mouth with these outposts of her middle colonies, those older settlements underwent alter-
1619 nate vicissitudes and success. The introduction into Virginia of the contradictory elements of slavery and self-government, during the second year of the German war, with the rapid development of tobacco-planting, had given the colony at once new character and new prosperity. To these were quickly added other elements. The communal system gave way to freehold farms; young women were brought over and sold to the settlers as wives; free trade with the mother country was established; and the new constitution went into effect.

1621 The provisions of this notable instrument marked as great an advance in colonial administration as the New Laws of Charles V. They were of even more enduring importance. By them power was vested in a governor, a council, and a general assembly of burgesses, and while the acts of this first of colonial legislatures might be vetoed by the governor or the company at home, the latter's ordinances, in turn, were void without the sanction of the House of Burgesses. For the first time the local authority of a colony was thus put on measurable equality with that of its directors. Thus equipped, with an increase of immigrants, which presently gave it the largest European population of any single settlement outside of the old world, Virginia became the model for English colonial administration, the first and most powerful self-governing European society oversea.

It was not free from the two enemies of such an experiment, the natives and the crown. Its prosperity was hindered scarcely more by Indian attacks than by the Company's quarrel with a king who claimed the right to nominate its officers, and resented the frank discussion of his policies in what he called its "seminary to a seditious Parliament." Yet, though hundreds of lives were lost in the Indian war, though the assembly was suspended, and Charles I issued patents which invaded the provincial privileges, Virginia was too firmly rooted to be thus destroyed. Its population increased to five thousand souls. Its tobacco exports grew to more than half a million pounds a year; and when Calvert and his followers, seeking a more hospitable location for settlement than their Newfoundland Avalon, came to the **1632-4** Chesapeake, they found a sturdy, prosperous, self-contained society, ready to resist not only savage incursions but any invasion of its land and privileges by the crown or its grantees.

New England Yet with all the extension of England's power on the north and south, and the success of Virginia, it was in New England that the principal energies of her colonizing elements were expended in this period. Those elements were chiefly found among the Puritans who were opposing the crown so bitterly at home. Their first experiment had not greatly flourished in a material way, and it was many years before New Plymouth showed any such prosperity as Jamestown. Its early settlers were ill-prepared to face the hardships they encountered. Suffering alike from the hostility of the natives and the climate, ill-found and ill-supported, and with no such profitable staple as tobacco to reward their industry, they increased so slowly that after ten strenuous years they numbered scarcely three hundred souls.

But the colony was important beyond its size. Like Virginia, it had been driven to abandon the communal principle. With the withdrawal of some of its disappointed London backers, the rest consented to dissolve the partnership; and **1627** a new group, chiefly composed of the colonists, assumed the obligations of the enterprise. The settlers became stockholders. The land and cattle were distributed among them; and the little community was thus transformed into an independent freehold society. It exhibited amazing vitality. It resisted Indian attack; rescued an ill-starred settlement at Weymouth; and repressed its unruly neighbors at Merry Mount. It extended its own outposts to Buzzard's Bay, and northward to Naumkeag or Salem; secured claims in the Kennebec region; and, treating and trading with the natives and with the Dutch of New Amsterdam, it revealed a strength wholly out of proportion to its numbers.

But while it was thus engaged, the world of English politics had changed, and the colonial movement followed in its train. During the first year of the Plymouth settlement, a Council for New England had been incorporated, as the successor of the old North Virginia Company. With this there began a twofold movement of vital importance, as rival schools of colonizing theory sought to put in practice their widely varying plans. The one held to a policy of palatine jurisdiction, not unlike that which had established the county palatine of Durham as an incident of the Norman conquest of England, and still divided it from the rest of English administration. Under the scheme the grantee held all rights within his province, like the head of a Portuguese captaincy, a French seigneury, or a Dutch patroonship. On the other hand, a group contended for a form of grant and government more like that of Virginia or New Plymouth, looking toward the establishment of self-governing communities. In such fashion, in this distant corner of the world, the great political problem of the time took on fresh form and fashion, with far-reaching consequence.

Directed by the Council of New England, the northern territory was now apportioned and settled; and, amid quarrels over its fishing rights, and attacks in Parliament on its monopoly, the charter of this corporation became the basis of New England grants. Its chief activities were those of a land company. North of the original New Plymouth settlement, between Salem and the Merrimac, a Hampshire gentleman, John Mason, acquired a province, first known as Mariana. Between the Merrimac and the Kennebec he and Sir Ferdinando Gorges held another district, named Laconia, which was later divided between them under the names of Maine and New Hampshire. Beyond these great palati-

1621.

nates Plymouth and her neighbors had secured concessions on the Kennebec, while minor patents conferred lesser territories on other adventurers. To secure their claims further, the districts which they held were re-patented to the Plymouth settlers. They, in turn, re-granted lands along the southern coast to the Earl of Warwick, a Puritan nobleman who headed the party opposed to the palatine doctrines of Gorges and Mason. Thus were the rival schools given means to carry out their theories.

Massachusetts

Meanwhile companies were formed and colonizing schemes were set on foot. The ambitious Salem settlement established a branch farther south at Charlestown; and the Salem Company, chartered directly by the crown and increased by new associates, was transformed into a corporation called the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay," from the great inlet whose shores it proposed to exploit. Unlike the palatine jurisdiction of the Mason-Gorges lands, its patent was modeled upon manorial grants, as found in the royal manors of Windsor and Greenwich, and there was thus introduced another element into the province. Administration was vested in a governor and assistants; and, with the despatch of a strong band of emigrants to the Charlestown settlement, the English company's council agreed to transfer charter and government alike to the colony itself. The powers of the appointed officers were allowed to lapse. A new governor, John Winthrop, was elected; a fresh settlement was begun at Shawmut, or Trimountain, renamed Boston, where the first "General Court of Massachusetts Bay" was held; and under such conditions began the history of a new form of colonial society, even more self-contained than Virginia.

1629

1630

Connecticut and Rhode Island

To this was added another enterprise. At the moment that Boston was founded, the Plymouth council had granted the Earl of Warwick a strip of the southern New England coast, between their claims and those of the Dutch. This he transferred to a Puritan group, headed by Lord Brook, Viscount Say and Seal; and at once the question of settling the Connecticut valley was opened. Within three years the men of Plymouth set up a house in this land debatable, despite the opposition of the Dutch, who had earlier built 1632-5 a fort in that region. Two years later, emigrants from Massachusetts Bay settled along the Connecticut, and the post of Saybrook was built at its mouth to secure the English claims. At almost the same time the region lying between the new colony and the old, the Narragansett district, was colonized 1636-8 by Roger Williams, fleeing from his persecutors in Salem; and shortly thereafter Rhode Island took its place beside his settlement of Providence, completing the occupation of the New England coast.

The character and importance of English colonization

Such, in the mid-period of the Thirty Years' War, was the beginning of European settlement in a new region of the world, and of a new chapter in the history of self-governing communities. Save for the Providence colony, it did not, indeed, make for that toleration which came to be associated with these communities. For the most part, its settlers adhered to the principle of conformity to their own doctrines as the price of political rights, or even residence within their borders. Franchise and faith alike were determined by men bent not so much upon freedom of belief in general as on securing their own liberty undisturbed by royal interference and the intrusion of other opinions. It was the natural outcome of an age of dogma and force, the logical result of generations of the persecution of dissent by orthodox authority, and of the determination of all parties in the religious conflict to impose their own beliefs upon all men so far as possible.

Yet it differed from the despotism of the Catholic rulers of the continent as from the absolutist tendencies of the English kings, in that it held a popular element. With all its theological intolerance, with all its petty jealousies, New England, like Virginia, represented the spirit which was to survive. And the settlement of America by the English made it apparent that the tendency toward popular independence in church and state was not to be overpowered by the reactionary forces in the old world, since there was now open a refuge in the western hemisphere.

To the final solution of the questions then at issue the German war had thus far contributed one element—the probable persistence of the reformed communions in certain regions. France under Richelieu had contributed another—the dissociation of religious and political issues in international affairs. The great results which flowed from the Anglo-Dutch attack upon the Spanish monopoly had contributed a third—the determining influence of sea-power in the world's affairs. At the same time science and philosophy tended to undermine the whole fabric of the older conceptions of truth upon which the new communions scarcely less than the old based their theology.

Its result

The settlement of America by the English added another factor. Not merely as a refuge for the persecuted of Europe, but as an experimental ground for beliefs and practices difficult or impossible of realization in the more rigid and more complex society cf the old world, America took on another aspect than it had shown under Spanish and Portuguese influence. There, for the first time largely relieved of that royal and ecclesiastical influence which had characterized the efforts of the Romance nations, Europeans began to found a society endowed with the experience of the old and largely influenced by it. Little hampered by tradition and system derived from the past, they were permitted, even compelled, to develop new ideas and new functions. Such an opportunity, given permanence, would almost certainly become a powerful factor in the evolution of Europe. The coincidence of the foundation of Massachusetts Bay, the Edict of Restitution, **1629** the dissolution of the English Parliament, and the final suppression of the political power of the Huguenots, is one of those curious circumstances in history which lends emphasis to this consideration. For, at the very moment that religious and political liberty in England, France, and Germany seemed to have reached a point where their extinction was but a matter of time, the New World prepared a field for their development in ways hitherto unknown to European experience.

Holland and Spain

But the progress of English colonization by no means exhausted European energies beyond the sea during this period, nor was it the force which reacted most directly on old world affairs. That reaction came rather from the Dutch attack upon the Spanish empire; and its strength was not lessened by the fact that it was bound up with the material prosperity of the Netherlands. In this great period of her history her achievements oversea not merely made her rich; they lent powerful aid to her struggle for independence. They influenced the German war by weakening the Emperor's chief ally, Spain; and they ultimately contributed to the emergence of Portugal from the long burden of her Sixty Years' Captivity. For while Protestantism lost and won in Germany, while France and Sweden took their place in the first rank of European states, while England came into antagonism with her rulers at home and secured her hold on North America, Holland completed the destruction of Spain's sea-power, and extended her colonial empire throughout the world.

The reign of Frederick Henry, indeed, began inauspiciously, since his tolerant policy was strained by the rivalry of Arminian and Gomarist; while the capture of Breda by the Spaniards drove the Provinces to seek French aid on the hard terms of lending a squadron to help in the reduction of their co-religionists of La Rochelle. And it was only when, in that eventful year of 1629, they retook the fortress of Hertogenbosch with French aid, and death removed their greatest enemy, Spinola, that the Dutch were relieved from their fear of re-conquest.

The West India Company

Meanwhile the activities of the West India Company had given them new power and new wealth. Its predecessor, the East India Company, having secured its foothold in Asia and Africa, was now directed by men opposed to farther conquest, and no longer took the lead in expansion. But the western company, born of the war with Spain, subsidized by the government, and operating in the Atlantic, where its every blow reacted directly on Europe, became not merely an agent of commercial enterprise, but an aggressive factor in the conflict with Spain, and a considerable element in European affairs.

Scarcely had it been chartered when it had despatched

emigrants to the Hudson River region, to the Amazon, and to that Essequibo district which was to become Dutch Guiana; while, following the example of the English a generation earlier, it sent a squadron to harass the western ports of South America on the way to India. Meanwhile a greater enterprise was prepared. Nearest and richest of the Spanish- **Piet Hein**
Portuguese possessions in the western world was San Salvador, better known from its spacious harbor as Bahia. What Nombre de Dios and Cartagena had been to the English, this post became to the Dutch; and what Drake had been to Spain, the "sea terror of Delfshaven," Pieter Pieterzoon Heinsius, more generally called Piet Hein, now became.

His exploits began the year that the Palatinate was lost **1623**
to Protestantism and Amboyna to the English. Sailing as second in command of a fleet of thirty vessels and three thousand men, under Willekens, Hein's desperate courage drove his ships against Bahia's batteries, and led his men clambering with boat hooks up the fortress walls, with irresistible audacity. The place was retaken by a Spanish-Portuguese fleet, but its plunder enabled the Dutch to fit out another squadron, which, under Hein's command, seized the
Spanish *Flota*, and poured eleven million florins into the **1628**
coffers of the Company. Not in a generation had Spain felt such a staggering blow as this which at once impoverished her own treasury and added its resources to those of her enemy. Hein's untimely death seemed likely to relieve the Spanish power. But his achievements had done their work. They had shown the way to divert Spain's strength, in part at least, from its attack upon the Provinces, and inspired his countrymen to dreams of dominion in America, which became the next goal of their ambition.

Its most immediate effect was seen along the Hudson River, **The New Netherlands**
where traders, following Hudson's track, had begun their labors. There, in the year that Hein's great exploits began, the West India Company's agents built Fort Orange far up the stream. Three years thereafter, Peter Minuit bought from
the natives the island of Manhattan at the river's mouth, **1626**
and founded the settlement of New Amsterdam. With the

best port of the north Atlantic coast at their command, it would seem that their fast widening trade through the interior would soon have made their Hudson River colony one of the strongest European settlements in the New World. Efforts were made to provide a basis of population proportionate to its possibilities. The lands along the river were divided into so-called patroonships, petty principalities of the wilderness, each with its river frontage, not unlike the Portuguese captaincies in Brazil, and the French seigneuries on the St. Lawrence. Colonists were despatched to occupy the territory thus brought under Dutch control. But the more profitable enterprises elsewhere in the world, throughout the East, and in Brazil, together with the great demand for men at home, made large emigration impossible. The company was compelled to depend largely on Walloons and Huguenots: and what might have been, under less favorable conditions elsewhere, a great and successful colonizing movement which should plant a powerful Dutch population in the western hemisphere, was hampered by the very forces which brought them such rewards in commerce and in war.

The East To some extent their fortunes in the East languished from the same cause; for, like Portugal before them, they had not men to equal their ambitions and their abilities. While the **1624** forces of the West India Company fell upon Bahia, the Dutch East India Company had despatched a squadron to seize Formosa as an *entrepôt* for trade with China and Japan, in silks and the new commodity of tea, but lately introduced to north European tastes. Under Caen's successor, Carpentier, whose name the Gulf of Carpentaria still perpetuates, and still more by the somewhat later discoveries of Abel Tasman, under Van Diemen's administration, a great part of the Australian continent, re-named New Holland, was explored. But no such wide conquering advance as had marked their entry into the East was achieved, or was now possible.

Meanwhile they grew rich. From these new posts, from their factories throughout the Isles of Spice and still farther east, from India and Persia and Ceylon, from an infinity of vessels scouring the coasts of Africa and America, from the fur trade of the New Netherlands, with the carrying trade of half Europe, a huge and growing stream of commerce poured through the ports of the United Provinces, leaving its sediment of profit to enrich their people. The income of the East India Company, despite its expenses in war, the inroads of interlopers, cumbrous bookkeeping, and dishonest agents, ran into many millions; and those of the western company, though they were promptly sunk, as they were chiefly gained, in warlike enterprise, were scarcely less.

Dutch ambitions

The Dutch had learned their lesson well. In their hands war not merely supported itself; from the plunder of their enemies they drew the means to destroy those they spoiled. Strengthened and inspired by their profits and success, nothing seemed impossible to them, and they ventured to oppose all other colonial and commercial powers at once. Beating off Spain, attacking the Portuguese, blocking up the English in their feeble and scattered posts, rivaling the French in the fur trade and the English in their colonial experiments, the courage of this tiny state, thus challenging the domination of the commercial world, while it clung with difficulty to even the little patch of European ground it held, was equaled only by its huge audacity.

Yet, as in so many other cases, its success was due, in no small measure, to favoring conditions. Not only was Germany removed from any possible rivalry. The Flemish Netherlands was ruined by Spain; and England, like France, was preoccupied with other affairs. The six strenuous years which Richelieu employed in bringing peace to his native land had aided Holland as much by his co-operation against the **1623-9** common enemy, Spain, as by the slackening of French rivalry. And the diversion of Spanish strength to Germany, and to Italy—where France and Savoy joined to break her hold upon the Valtelline and the imperial claims to Mantua—served Dutch purposes no less than the dissensions between the English crown and Parliament.

Spain

Above all, Spain's own policy, her devotion to lost causes and impossible loyalties, became Holland's most powerful ally. From the fury of her soldiers had fled those Flemish refugees, who founded, in their adopted country, the West India Company and the Company of the North, which, with the East India Company, divided the oceanic world between them. No less, Spain's support of the Catholic cause in Germany, on which she spent so much of her strength and treasure, went far toward costing her American supremacy. For the Spanish government, amid all its misfortunes, had apparently learned nothing and forgotten nothing since the great days of Charles V. Not even the tragic disillusionment of Philip III had been sufficient to produce a change under his successor, Philip IV.

The old pretensions to direct the fortunes of all Europe were maintained, though every year they grew more shadowy. The fatal economic and ecclesiastical policy stood unchanged; the system of favorites persisted. Lerma fell, but his place was taken by Olivarez; and though the new minister's talents were far beyond those of his predecessor, they scarcely compensated for the mistakes and arrogance by which they were brought to naught. Spain's trade and manufactures were now well-nigh destroyed; her agriculture ruined by deforestation and the drain of men for foreign wars. Her popular liberties were absorbed by church and crown, her economic strength weakened beyond the possibility of wringing sufficient taxes to support her vain and wasteful policies. The sober maxims of retrenchment, reform, and the encouragement of industry were cast aside, while her Quixotic rulers pursued impossible adventures in war and diplomacy, until, beneath their weight, the collapse of her position as a first-rate power was, in this disastrous decade, finally assured. She had, in fact, expanded beyond her capacity to organize and assimilate her gains; and, like a tree which has long stood as the monarch of the forest, she had begun to decay at the root.

Spanish colonies

In this collapse such of her colonies as were not involved in her foreign policy, and were not easily accessible to outside attack, had as yet no share, and, for the most part, flourished. The stream of bullion which they poured into her treasury, and which had become the chief support of her declining power, had shrunk from what it had been in the preceding century, but it still remained considerable. Though Mexico had suffered a clash between the civil and ecclesiastical powers which involved an attempt to limit terms of service and exactions from the natives, the result was not unfavorable to Spain and the Indians, since the latter were relieved somewhat from their oppression, and the former's efforts to increase its revenue were not without result. And even at the height of the struggle with the Dutch, in the face of a world of enemies, Spain's colonies advanced their borders.

To protect them she embarked upon a policy, half European, half colonial, as a defense against the privateers who harassed her coasts, preyed upon her commerce, and disturbed her revenue, in the Spanish Main, whose islands and ports had long been her chief concern. The depopulation of its shores and the withdrawal into the interior had begun. Even Cuba was said at this time to contain no more than twenty thousand souls, and its whole western coast boasted only a few poor native villages. Already English, French, and Dutch had begun to occupy the abandoned islands, as **1624-30** St. Christopher, Barbados, and the lesser haunts of pirates and smugglers fell from Spanish hands. Meanwhile, to keep a safe entry for her fleets, great fortifications had been begun, first at Porto Bello, then at Havana, finally on the Pacific ports, to guard the progress of her treasure ships.

Following Hein's exploits, she took another step. A fleet was prepared, which, two years after the Dutch sea-king's death, swept through the Caribbean archipelago, and with its capture of prisoners, guns, and plunder, revealed at once the profits of the pirates and the smugglers, and the strength of that traffic. Thus, while the rich trade of Portugal was filched from her in the East, Spain secured the wealth of mines and herds and plantations in America, behind an impenetrable wilderness. Its few entries were controlled by impregnable fortresses; and so, "like a huge turtle basking in the sun, protected by its shell, and showing only here and there a tooth or claw," she lay before the onslaughts of her foes.

The Portuguese Empire

But while she thus secured her colonies abroad, she faced new dangers at home. The subject kingdom of Portugal, now languishing for nearly sixty years under the hated control of her oldest enemy, had grown more and more restive till the discontent had become acute. Portugal had been dragged in the wake of Spanish misfortunes, sharing the worst evils of a policy in which she had no voice. Her losses and her enemies had increased with every conflict in which Spain had been engaged; and she was taxed to support wars where she had nothing to gain and everything to lose. Under the fury of the Dutch attack the last vestige of her colonial strength in the East had all but disappeared. The viceroy's authority, long since reduced to little more than the direction of military expeditions and the supervision of the ports of Malabar, had become a shadow of its former greatness. The royal efforts to check the corruption of the governors had degenerated into a costly farce, since it seemed almost a virtue to rob the hated authorities of the alien king.

Its decay

War, poverty, and misgovernment combined to impede reform. The army grew, but not by European additions, since recruiting in Portugal finally proved impossible; and the natives, improperly armed, equipped, and officered, were useless. No less, corruption in the service increased till not even the heroic step of melting the copper coinage into cannon could replace the loss by theft and capture of that once dreaded artillery. Meanwhile her strength by sea came to an end. The navy, weakened by Dutch and English attack, declined in numbers, discipline, and skill. The shipwreck of
1626 Menezes' fleet in the fifth year of Philip IV's ill-fated reign, marked the beginning of the end; and when, a dozen years
1638 thereafter, the Dutch destroyed a Portuguese armada off Pernambuco, sea-power disappeared. Of that great navy which had held the seaway to the East the Tagus sheltered less than a dozen little vessels. In place of those great fleets which once bore the wealth of Asia from Goa to Lisbon, English ships were hired to transport what remained of that fast-fading commerce. As, a hundred years before, the wharves of Venice and Genoa had been deserted for those

of Lisbon, so now the latter were replaced by those of Amsterdam and her neighbors. Batavia supplanted Goa as the European capital of the East; Dutch factor took the place of Portuguese governor; and of her far-flung empire the unfortunate kingdom, now a mere province, still retained only the Atlantic islands and Brazil in any semblance of their former strength.

The Atlantic possessions

Powerless to resist the English, French, and Dutch encroachments in the years following the Armada, these were saved from conquest partly by bending to the storm and partly by their relative insignificance, as the attack swept by to richer prizes. Portugal's subjection to the Spanish yoke, indeed, worked them some benefit. Through hatred of their Spanish rulers, many Portuguese sought refuge in the colonies. The Azores, aided by France, had kept out Philip II's squadrons for three years after he became king of Portugal; and Portuguese exiles made up a large proportion of the emigrants who established about Maranhão in Brazil what became one of the most intelligent and prosperous of the new world colonies.

Few periods of European history are more notable than the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century, whether we consider the epoch-making events in Europe itself or the no less spectacular circumstances under which the northern powers established themselves in regions oversea. It was a time of great and far-reaching activities, of heroic characters and dramatic occurrences, of sweeping changes and romantic episodes, within and without Europe. From the direct consequences of the continental struggle South America was notably free save for the Dutch attempts on northern Brazil; and in so far the history of the Spanish colonies, whether in comparison with the events taking place elsewhere in the world, or in comparison with their own past, was relatively tranquil. Yet, while the great issues were being fought out in the old world, South America revealed three movements, of much consequence to its development, and of a quality as romantic and extraordinary as that of any concurrent European circumstance. The first of these was the

The Jesuits and Paraguay

rise of a new and unique state in the heart of the southern continent, which was no less noteworthy in that it seemed the echo of an age already passing. Of all the activities by which the Europeans spread their faith and culture none is more remarkable than that by which, in this mid-period of the Thirty Years' War, the Jesuits extended their influence in South America. It yields nothing to the labors of Xavier in the East nor to those of his order in the northern continent; and its results are still apparent among those peoples now brought under its authority. These were the Guaranis, whose tribes dwelt between the Andes and the Atlantic. A peaceful, agricultural race, they lent themselves as readily to conversion as they had to conquest by their fiercer neighbors; and in them the Jesuits found a fertile field for their endeavors.

1600-1640

The "theocracy"

From the northern ports, the successors of Nobrega had early made their way to the interior; but it was in the south that his order met its most conspicuous success. There, following the Parana and the Uruguay, they had established missionary posts about the beginning of the sixteenth century. From these they soon began to weave the fabric of a theocracy. The Indians were grouped in villages, each with its church and priest, and native officials under Jesuit tutelage. A communal system abolished private property; and the surplus, shipped out at Buenos Ayres, provided money for taxes, for manufactures beyond the capacity of these farming groups to make for themselves, and for church ornaments. To protect their charge from outside attack, whether native, Spanish, or Portuguese, the fathers armed and drilled a militia. And to preserve the natives from the contaminating influence of European life, the whole community was made virtually a hermit state. Such was the remarkable society founded in the heart of eastern South America, which for a hundred and fifty years remained the unique product of missionary enterprise.

The Paulistas

If its principles and practices had been more common, the history of the Spanish empire in the western hemisphere might have been spared some of its darker chapters. But even while this curious experiment was taking form two forces of a widely different character were making themselves felt at opposite ends of the continent. The first was due to the activities of the so-called Paulistas, the warlike inhabitants of the province of São Paulo in southern Brazil, who held the lands stretching westward from Rio Janeiro to the Jesuit settlements of Paraguay. A mixed people who combined the vigor of the pioneer with the pursuits of planting and slave-hunting, they formed the most aggressive element of Portuguese empire-builders in the New World. Their bands ranged the wild interior in search of slaves, their prospectors sought for gold in the mountainous country to the north, while their outposts harassed the Spanish and the Jesuit settlements to the west. Half-settlers, half-brigands, they spread at once their power and the terror of their wild exploits over a wide area which they made a bulwark against the Spaniards of La Plata and the Argentine, destined to preserve the Portuguese supremacy in Brazil.

and the Buccaneers

Of different composition but like methods was the second force which threatened Spain's authority at the other end of her empire, the Caribbean lands. There, following the English attack upon Spanish monopoly, an adventurous element had found a foothold in the half-abandoned islands, beginning with San Domingo. Chiefly Dutch, French, and English, these broken or desperate men, wild spirits, or criminals fleeing from justice, found refuge here. They early learned from the natives the art of smoking and preserving meat, so-called "boucanning," whence they derived their name of buccaneers. Every planting settlement was a market for this useful commodity, every island afforded a supply of cattle, and the industry spread rapidly. But their presence in the forbidden lands, and the disposal of their produce, brought them in conflict with Spanish authorities, and the result was inevitable. From hunting and butchering cattle they advanced to piracy, and in no long time Spain found a new and annoying warfare on her hands. Time after time her vessels swept the islands, but, the danger past, the buccaneers, emerging from their hiding-places, took up their old activities.

1623-30 Such a force was not to be overlooked by states at war with Spain. In the year that Christian of Denmark had prepared his German expedition, England and France began to colonize St. Kitts. In turn Spain sent a fleet which scattered but could not crush the settlement. Five years later the buccaneers moved to Tortuga, and again, after an interval, Spain fell upon the settlement and massacred all its inhabitants. With that began a long, fiercely contested conflict which enlisted thousands of recruits from Europe, and endured for three-quarters of a century. Its great period was to come. Yet the extraordinary and romantic interest which it developed scarcely surpassed the serious importance of the curious episode by which, in this epoch of Spain's declining powers, another wound was opened in the side of her empire.

Brazil But the Paulistas and the buccaneers were not the whole of her tale of enemies. At the same time she was called on to face another and a far more formidable foe, that threatened her very existence in Brazil. There, with the development of African slave labor, and the consequent increase of the chief export, sugar, the imperial colony had become one of the most valuable possessions in the world. But its very prosperity brought dangers in its train, for Spain's chief enemy had scarcely secured control of the spice trade when she cast desirous eyes on this new source of wealth. For its acquisition Holland had already organized her West India Company, and established her power on the northern coast. Thence she had turned to naval war, and was now prepared to strike for land empire.

The successes of Willekens and Hein had whetted Dutch ambition in the western world; and Prince Frederick Henry was not slow to follow the lead thus given. Encouraged by the capture of the Spanish treasure fleet, and enriched by its spoil, the year following that exploit there had been despatched a powerful expedition to secure a foothold in Brazil. More than sixty vessels, carrying twelve hundred guns and twelve thousand men, were launched against Pernambuco in 1629-30 this new struggle for the mastery of the colonial world. The conflict was stubborn in the extreme. Pernambuco's port, Reciff, impregnable from the sea, was taken in the rear by land forces; the raw Portuguese levies were crushed; the city fell; the intrepid governor, Matheus de Albuquerque, reduced to the interior lines, threatened the invaders from his intrenchments and cut them off from further advance. Thus the conflict resolved itself into a contest of endurance. Both sides sent out relieving fleets. The squadrons under Pater and Oquendo met in a fierce though indecisive battle off Reciff; but the Spaniards, hopeless of dislodging the Dutch, sailed off to the West Indies, leaving their rivals the masters of the sea. Albuquerque's resistance thereupon collapsed and Dutch power spread rapidly between the San Francisco and the Amazon, leaving but half the old captaincies to their original possessors. So, at the crisis of the Thirty Years' War, Protestantism, defeated in Germany, promised to win for itself a new empire beyond the sea.

But Spain, reduced to the region between Bahia and Rio Janeiro, was little disposed, with all her weakness and her entanglements elsewhere, to endure the loss of half her Portuguese territories in America without attempting to regain them. Thus the years which saw Gustavus' great campaign in Germany and the settlement of New England, were filled with her efforts to avenge herself upon the Dutch. Her first attempt was most unfortunate. A fleet, gathered at Antwerp, tried in vain to land its troops in Zealand, and was finally 1631 ignominiously crushed by a Dutch squadron scarcely a third its size. Hard on its failure Frederick Henry took Maestricht, which controlled the eastern frontier of the Provinces, and held it against Spanish and imperial attack. Thereafter when the death of the Infanta Isabella, the regent of the Flemish provinces, brought the Netherlands under the direct rule of Spain, the Dutch, rejecting Spanish overtures for peace, 1635 seized Dunkirk, with the aid of France, and further secured their borders and their trade.

At the same time Prince John Maurice of Nassau was sent 1636 to rule Brazil, and his administration marked the high tide of Dutch power in America. The capital, renamed Mauritsstad, flourished anew with the development of the provinces. Trade and planting increased under Dutch management; and it appeared in this fiftieth anniversary of the Invincible Armada, that Holland, now secure at home, was about to take the place of Spain upon the sea, and absorb Portugal's colonial power in the West as she had already engrossed her commerce with the East.

The New Armada 1639

In this crisis Olivarez rallied every energy of the Spanish government for a supreme effort to destroy its too successful enemy. At home a new armada was prepared, comparable to the ill-fated armament of a half century before; and eighty ships and twenty-four thousand men were intrusted to the experienced Oquendo, who was commissioned to crush the power of the Dutch in the narrow seas. At the same time another force was to engage the enemy in the western world; and a scarcely less powerful Hispano-Portuguese fleet was collected at Bahia. There ninety vessels and twelve thousand men under the Count de Torre were to be thrown against Dutch ascendancy in northern Brazil. To meet this pressing danger all the strength of Holland and her colony was summoned. Thousands of volunteers enlisted; ships of all sorts were brought together; and the command was entrusted to the greatest of Dutch admirals, Martin van Tromp.

21 Oct. 1639

The crisis was not long delayed. Worsting the new Armada in preliminary encounters, Van Tromp met the Spanish in a last decisive battle in the English Downs. At the head of more than a hundred ships, manned by the flower of the Protestant Netherlands, he inflicted on the unfortunate Spanish fleet a defeat no less crushing than that which had overtaken the older Armada almost exactly half a century before at Gravelines. With the loss of more than half its men and nearly all its ships, the shattered fragments of the Spanish fleet sought refuge from the fury of the Dutch in friendly or neutral harbors; and with its downfall Spain was eliminated as a naval power from the European seas. Nor was this all. Three months thereafter, a running four days' fight off Itamaraca gave to the vastly overmatched squadron of John Maurice a scarcely less decisive victory over the fleet of de Torre, and secured Holland's supremacy in Brazilian waters with undisputed possession of the mainland provinces which she held.

The revolt of Portugal

These disasters were but a part of Spain's misfortunes during this period. In the same year that saw the destruction of her last navy, the hatred of Spanish rule, which had already led the Portuguese to one revolt, came to a head with the proposal to abolish the Cortes of Portugal and incorporate the kingdom formally among the Spanish provinces. Never was such a plan worse timed. Taking advantage of her disasters on the sea, and of a revolt in Catalonia, supported by France, the Portuguese rebelled. Three hours of fighting in **1640** Lisbon overthrew the Spanish forces there, and made John of Braganza king of Portugal. That country, in the weakened and disordered situation of the Spanish government, was able to maintain the independence it had won by its daring stroke. Within two years, the favorite Olivarez, who, with all his industry and ability, had led his nation to irretrievable disaster, was finally dismissed, and Spain collapsed as a great power. Shorn of half her colonial empire, ruined by the proud futility of her foreign policy, her suicidal economic attitude, and the incompetence of her rulers, she ceased to be a leading factor in the world's affairs, and the pre-eminence she once held in European councils was usurped by her great rival, France.

Thus, in the mid-period of the German war and the English experiment in unparliamentary government was the extra-European world revolutionized. In the same twelvemonth that the first steps toward peace were taken in Ger- **1642** many, and England turned at last to civil war, Richelieu died and Olivarez fell from power. With that remarkable concurrence of events, Europe at home and oversea entered upon another phase of her eventful history, altered in nearly every particular from her status a generation earlier. The Dutch were now the masters of the East. They held no inconsiderable portion of South America, and divided the coast line of North America with the English and the French. There the experiment of popular colonial government had begun. There the English people, removed from continental politics, revealed a spirit and an energy in their domestic as in their colonial affairs, which were to be determining factors in history. Under such circumstances did the initiative pass from Spanish and Catholic hands to those of northern Protestants. And in their hands was again made manifest the truth of that great axiom of world politics, "The dominion of the sea is the epitome of monopoly."

CHAPTER XXI

INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. 1610-1642

THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT

FROM the standpoint of that history which concerns itself with conflicts for supremacy between rival religious doctrines or princely ambitions, rather than with the new forces coming into the world with each generation, any account of social and intellectual progress during the period of the Thirty Years' War must seem even more of a digression from the main current of affairs than the description of those processes by which a new European balance was established beyond the sea. Yet if history is to be considered as the chronicle of the advance of the human race in all those elements which go to make up the world of to-day, it is apparent that the first third of the seventeenth century is of greater significance to us as the period in which the foundations were laid for present conditions and capabilities than as the age of the last great religious war.

It is no doubt true that had Protestantism been finally eliminated from central Europe, that portion of the continent would have been profoundly affected in civilization no less than in faith. But such a result is almost inconceivable, and, had it been attained, it would scarcely have brought about the extinction of that form of belief in the rest of the world. On the other hand, had Spanish efforts to control the sea been successful, or had the reactionary forces of Europe been able to check the development of those doctrines of liberty in thought and practice which had achieved the discoveries of science and the beginnings of popular government, together with the establishment of new societies in America, the present status of the world would have been far different from what it is. For, by the time of the great trial of strength between the two communions, Protestantism had accomplished its task of making freedom of religious opinion a factor in European thought, and its great services to the cause of intellectual liberty were reinforced by other forces which were, by this time, becoming competent to carry on the work of emancipation.

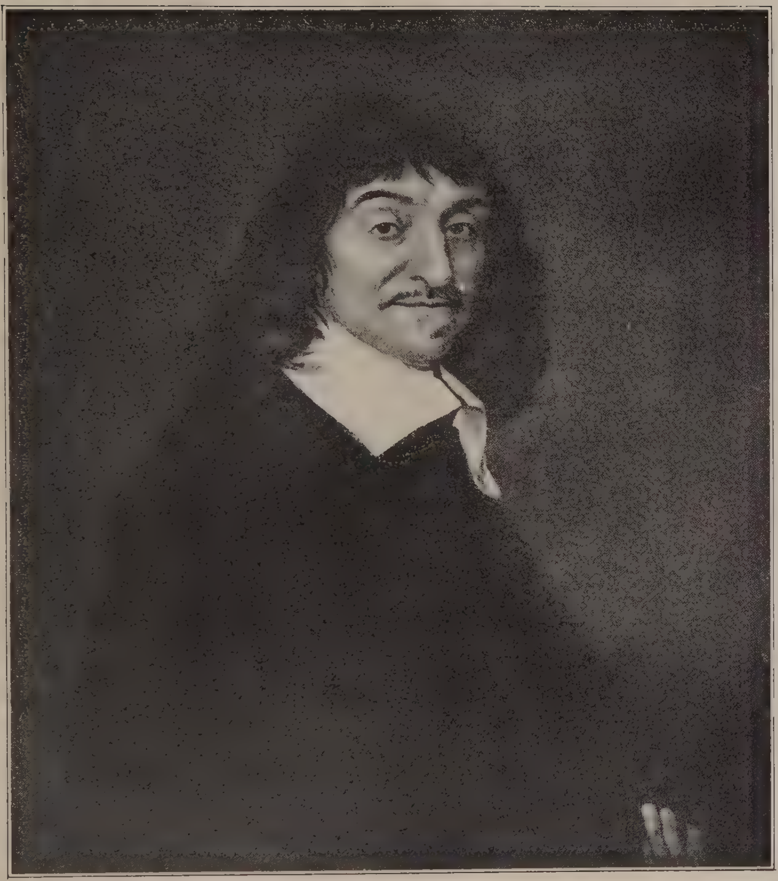
The transition from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century

Among these two were most conspicuous. The one was science, whose triumphs during the generation which witnessed the Thirty Years' War had added enormously to the knowledge and capacity of mankind. The other was that spirit of liberty, which, expressed no less in literature and in commerce than in science, and now invading politics, found in every field of human progress new outlet for its adventurous energy, increasing at once the scope and content of life, and giving opportunity to the individual.

Nor were these the only factors which went to re-create the European world in this eventful third of a century. Great as were the political and intellectual changes during this period, they were no more remarkable, whatever their greater ultimate importance, than the material phenomena which accompanied them. Beside the more spectacular developments in war and politics, the more subtle alterations in knowledge as in thought, there came a change in everyday affairs, in the habits and practices, even in the appearance of European peoples, not unworthy of note even amid world-shaking activities and policies.

Weapons

Perhaps the circumstance which seemed of greatest importance to the men of action was the development of weapons and means of protection. It was inevitable that the great conflict in Europe during the earlier part of the seventeenth century should produce an effect in land warfare comparable to the changes which had modified naval affairs in the preceding fifty years. With the invention of small arms during the previous century, the long-bow and cross-bow had disappeared, and the musketeer took his place beside the pikeman in the new armies. Meanwhile his weapon was improved. The cumbrous and uncertain slow-match by which he once



DESCARTES.

After the painting by Franz Hals.

set fire to his charge in the old-fashioned arquebus, had been first replaced by the wheel-lock, which struck sparks upon the powder in the pan; while the weapon was lightened from a form but little less cumbrous than the still older hand-cannon from which it had been evolved. In the early years of the seventeenth century came the invention of the so-called Schnapphahn, or snaphaunce, an early form of the flintlock, which was to be the prevailing model of the musket till the introduction of the percussion-cap, two centuries later.

Meanwhile, a large variety of weapons based on the musket principle were evolved—fusils, calivers, musquetoon, and, smallest of them all, the pistol or hand musket. Artillery followed a not dissimilar course. But, save for heavy siege work, it scarcely kept pace with the development of small arms, its greatest achievements being the Swedish invention of light and mobile field-pieces, and the use of a crude form of shell by the English. Before such weapons armor declined. A head-piece, breast- and back-pieces replaced the full suit of mail, as the old battle-ax and mace, shield and spear gave way to sword and pike. Thus in defensive as in offensive weapons the whole tendency was toward lightness and ease of movement.

Dress

Such changes were accompanied by others, more or less related to military affairs, or the trades affected by them. Not the least of these was dress. If one circumstance distinguishes the first half of the seventeenth century from its predecessors in external characteristics, it is the extraordinary change in the appearance of European men. This was effected chiefly by the evolution of the doublet and hose, with which, in a variety of forms, they had arrayed themselves during the preceding centuries. Such a change was due to two causes; first, the invention and development of knitting which evolved those garments known as stockings; and perhaps still more to the disappearance of armor, which had necessitated the adaptation of male costume to its use. With its departure the doublet shrank into a waistcoat, the robe into a coat. The long hose were divided during the sixteenth century into "upper" and "nether stocks," so to knee-breeches and stockings. The extraordinary foot-coverings of an earlier age diminished into the more sober, if not more commonplace, buckled shoe. As armor shrank to back- and breast-piece, the suit of buff, or soft leather, declined to the buff-coat. Jack-boots protected the horseman's legs against the dirt, a cloak or riding-coat shielded him against the weather, a hat replaced the older and more picturesque soft cap of varying shape. And, after an era of wearing his hair in long curls, or cutting it short—as his nationality, his religion, his political beliefs, or his taste dictated—the wig was devised to cover man's natural hair or conceal its lack. Such, apart from the varying fashion which replaced the smooth or full-whiskered countenance of an earlier day with the Spanish or Vandyke beard, and that, in turn, as the century advanced, with smooth face again, were the changes which marked the transition between mediæval and modern dress and appearance,—neither a reformation nor a renaissance, but a true revolution in costume.

It would be a bold man who ventured to follow the variations of feminine dress in any period, much less to account for its vagaries. But, in the main, so far as the unskilled eye can determine, it would appear that toward the end of the fifteenth century the long flowing robes and the huge, picturesque head-dress which had chiefly distinguished the mediæval lady, finally gave way to that form of costume which would be reckoned as modern,—the skirt and corseted waist,—and, toward the end of the sixteenth century, the temporary fashion of the huge starched neck-ruff. That striking and characteristic feature of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century styles was not confined to women. It formed a conspicuous element of men's dress as well. But it was soon cast aside by both sexes, and a long succession of lace collars, stocks, and neck-dresses ultimately evolved into the more conventionalized collar of the present day. And, apart from the merely curious interest which attaches to this alteration in external appearance during this period, these changing fashions are notable for two elements of more serious significance. The one is the fact that these new costumes were not only more practical, but that they tended to become, in a sense, more democratic, since, with all the infinite variety of taste and cost, men, at least, came gradually to look more and more alike, and those wide differences of rank and wealth which had once been so clearly marked, slowly gave way to greater uniformity. The other was the effect which these alterations produced upon industry.

Industry

It was to be expected that such changes would be accompanied by the development of handicrafts to supply materials for the changing fashions, and this became a principal characteristic of the early years of the seventeenth century. From the hands of the lace-makers of Italy proceeded those filmy marvels of patient skill like *point de Venise;* and thence transferred to the Low Countries, Brussels and Mechlin, with lesser centers of manufacture, began to rival their southern teachers. Silk production made its way to France, and in due course even to England, with other arts and crafts driven from the Netherlands by the Spanish Fury. Other forms of manufactures accompanied them. The steel which had made Toledo and Milan famous found rivals in the north, as English, French, and German metal-workers developed their resources. Spanish leather, Italian goldsmiths' work, with pottery and glass-making, and china-ware, became the material of industry no less than of commerce in many parts of the continent. To these were added contributions from many other activities. The introduction of tobacco brought with it the art or "mystery" of making pipes from clay, which developed from the potters' craft. The discoveries of the physicists brought into existence the art of the optician, with his telescopes and spectacles, his reading-glasses, and, finally, his microscopes. Lastly the demands of the astronomer, no less than the convenience of the individual, compelled the improvement of watches, which, in this period, turned from their resemblance to clocks, and, with the invention of the escapement, took on more likeness to their modern form.

Tastes and habits

Strangely enough, these were accompanied by altering tastes and habits with consequent developments in widely different fields, especially relating to those which a considerable section of later generations reckoned as vices. Whatever obscure relation there may be among the manifold activities of any given period, it is a curious fact that the age which saw the introduction of a new form of costume took up the habit of smoking tobacco, began to use snuff, and invented the game of billiards. Nor is it without significance, among the minor facts of life, that the peculiar conduct of billiard balls, under stress of the impulse of the cue, is still known as "English." The introduction of tea, coffee, and cocoa or chocolate to general use, among the northern peoples especially, marks another change, of wide consequence not only to social habits, but, through them, to far-reaching streams of commerce and industry. The introduction of new plants, like the gladiolus, the tulip, and the tuberose, marked an advance in horticulture as part of the luxury of life. At the same time the use of one of the great food staples of mankind, the potato, spread through Europe. Introduced from America by the Spaniards, it found its way thence to the Low Countries, and, by the reputed agency of Raleigh, into the British Isles. It slowly but surely was improved and commended itself to the taste of Europe, especially to the people from whom, among the English, it took its name—the Irish. Above all, perhaps, the discovery of cinchona, or Jesuits' bark, whence quinine is derived, and its marvelous effect upon fevers, is one of the most important results of this era. For it soon became a factor not only in therapeutics, but in the exploitation of those malarial districts of the world otherwise incapable of European settlement.

Intoxicants Amid this manifold activity which revolutionized the whole fabric of every-day life one feature is even more conspicuous. This was the development in the use of intoxicants. During the middle ages,—after some centuries of mead,—the brewing of ale and beer from grains, and the products of the grape, had provided Europe with its stimulants. With the development of commerce, especially after the beginning of expansion, sack and sherry from Xeres, Canary and Madeira from the islands of that name; port from Oporto, claret and Bordeaux from the Gironde; Burgundy, Moselle, and the various Rhine wines, had approved themselves to European taste and commemorated their origin in their names. It had early occurred to men to prepare stronger drinks by some process of distillation; and it is probable that we owe brandy and alcohol to the Arabs. By the first quarter of the seventeenth century their manufacture and use seem to have been fairly common everywhere in Europe. To these were added usquebaugh, or whiskey, prepared from grain by the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland and Ireland, and brought to more general attention by the English, through their closer connection with the Scotch by dynastic union, and with the Irish by conquest.

At about the same time the Dutch developed another drink apparently originating in France, spirits flavored with juniper—so-called Geneva or gin. And, as if these were not enough to tempt the taste and virtue of mankind, another spirituous product, rum, distilled from sugar or sugar-cane, made its way from the West Indies to divide the doubtful honors with these other powerful stimulants. Thus in the generation of the great religious wars the long rule of the milder beverages was at once reinforced by tea, coffee, and cocoa, and challenged by a group, nearly if not quite half alcohol, whose rapidly spreading use set Europeans on another and less temperate stage of their devious career. It seems probable that the general diffusion of these beverages throughout Europe in this period is connected not only with the development of commerce but still more with the progress of those almost incessant wars which for a century and more had plagued the continent with a horde of soldiers of fortune, drawn from every land and carrying with them the peculiar tastes and vices of their own countries to every quarter of Europe. To this wandering class of free-lances and freebooters must certainly be attributed the spread of disease and pestilence as well as of that destruction which accompanied their presence. Thus, whatever their contribution to religious freedom and political advance, the German wars unquestionably played a great part in the moral as well as the material degeneration of Europe in their thirty disastrous years.

Baths

Beside these changes in taste and customs one other alteration in European habits is no less noticeable as the sixteenth century merged into the seventeenth,—the fashion of resorting to certain places possessed of springs yielding warm or mineral waters reckoned of advantage in the treatment of many diseases. That custom, known to the Romans, and leaving its traces in place names wherever their power spread, from the German Aachen to the British Aquæ Solis—now Bath—had never wholly died out in the middle ages. But with the greater attention to medicine, to sanitation and hygiene, which affected the upper classes during the sixteenth century, and perhaps not unconnected with the revived attention to nature which accompanied man's relative separation from it as city dwelling gradually replaced outdoor life among larger numbers, these natural resources were again summoned to his aid. The town of Spa in the Netherlands,—which as time went on owed some part of its fame to the visits of great personages like Henry of Navarre and gave its name to many such places; the English town of Bath; the various springs in France and the Rhine region, and others of less note elsewhere in Europe, became the resort of those seeking health, by drinking and bathing in their life-renewing waters. The custom became general, and, within a century and a half, had grown to be a fixed habit in the lives of the upper classes, affecting society, so-called in its narrower sense, only less than health.

Such matters as the changing appearance, tastes, and habits of every-day life are scarcely consonant with the "dignity of history," as it is generally understood, however vital they are to the progress of what we call society, and however closely they are bound up with the most intimate affairs of our existence. Had these been the only changes which overtook Europe during this era, her social and intellectual history would, indeed, seem trivial enough. But this was not the case. At few other periods in her long development was she so altered from her old estate in the deeper concerns of life. Beside the infinite petty mutations in these more personal concerns, there came far-reaching changes in the most fundamental influences which move mankind.

Results of expansion

It was now two hundred years since Poggio's discoveries of long-lost classical manuscripts and Prince Henry's conquests in northern Africa had given Europe that impulse to intellectual and territorial expansion which had produced such great results by the beginning of the seventeenth century. It had been a hundred years since Luther and Calvin, Magellan, Cortez, and Pizarro, building on the work of Wyclif and Huss, Columbus and Da Gama, had called into existence new worlds, religious and political, to alter the balance of the old. It had been scarcely more than half that period since the Calvinistic doctrines had begun to produce new forms of political and of ecclesiastical philosophy and practice; and the Teutonic North Sea powers had overthrown the Iberian supremacy in the oceanic world. The expansion of Europe, intellectual, political, artistic, religious, economic, was now fully under way; its line of progress determined; some of its results were already evident, and many elements of its future well assured.

The products of the East now flowed freely into Europe through at least three channels. The shore-lines of four continents; far-stretching areas of the western world and of northern Asia; vantage-points in Africa and North America; most of the Atlantic islands—and not a few in the Pacific—were now ruled, exploited, or occupied by European peoples. Two great systems of colonial society had been established oversea; three more had made beginnings; and the areas controlled by them had more than trebled the extent of Europe's original territory. Her influence and her wealth had grown in like proportion; her people had become the great aggressive element in the world, and the chief factor in its politics. She had in her hands unlimited wealth of lands fitted for settlement. She had become the focus toward which was being drawn much of the store of precious metals in the world, to augment a circulating medium which enabled her to replace natural with money economy, to enrich the fields of industry, and to extend the scope and character of her commercial ventures. All the power of Spain and Portugal combined had not availed to maintain a single narrow channel for the entry of goods from the other continents into Europe, nor prevent the settlement of other powers in the extra-European world, much less ensure to their own use the flood of bullion from the East and West. Now as the exclusive age of territorial and commercial exploitation was replaced by an era of capital and competition, world-politics followed in the wake of world-commerce, and questions of polity were increasingly determined by elements once scarcely recognized as part of the old "mysteries of state."

Intellectual advance

But the progress of Europe had not been limited to material, nor even to spiritual activities. No less in matters of the intellect than in commerce and politics, the European at the beginning of the seventeenth century had found outlets for his energies beyond his reach a hundred years before. Classical scholarship had now uncovered a new world of thought and achievement, where the mind was freed from the mediæval bonds of scholasticism and theology. Art had attained unparalleled eminence. Great national literatures had sprung up, blossomed, and borne immortal fruit; new systems of religious and secular thought and practice had arisen. New handicrafts had been invented or improved; and science had revealed a whole new universe. As a result, Europe's intellectual resources had increased no less than its wealth, its power, or its political influence. The new spirit had begun to penetrate philosophy; it was about to invade politics, and ultimately it was to affect religion, as the search for truth, "daughter of time, not of authority," prepared a fresh advance.

Its most conspicuous result was to increase the dignity of man and the importance of terrestrial affairs, at the expense of mystical and supernatural elements in life and thought. It was no accident that from the canvases of the great painters of the period now begun—Rembrandt and Hals, Rubens, Velasquez and Vandyke—look out not so much the Saints and Holy

Families of the earlier schools, as statesmen, merchants, and men of affairs; that landscape and the business of life took a conspicuous place among the concerns of art. Holbein, not Raphael, was the prophet of the new era. Nor was it chance which led the statesman, Bacon, and the soldier, Descartes, to interest themselves in science and philosophy. Least of all was it a mere coincidence that the last of the great religious wars took place concurrently with the first successful revolt of popular liberties against royal prerogative, the rise of great commercial states, the foundation of international law and modern philosophy, and the actual transfer of European society to lands oversea.

Its results

Of all these results which flowed from the increasing knowledge of the two preceding centuries, none was more important than the revival of man's confidence in himself. Though still surrounded by the unknown, his conquests in the intellectual as in the physical world had begun to lighten the fear which had so long oppressed him that the secrets of the universe were unknowable. He no longer felt that he must die to learn, that all his prospects lay in a future state of which in the nature of things he could know nothing, whatever he might believe. The supernatural had begun to give way to a natural conception of the universe. Of all the gifts of science to mankind, of all the differences between the European and the non-European races, between the middle ages and more modern times, this emancipation of the intellect and the consequent unfettering of the spirit, this substitution of investigation and experiment for faith and authority, even for pure reason, was the most far-reaching and profound. It provided new material for the intellect which had fed too long upon itself. It replaced the superstition of blind belief, simple dependence on authority, barren logic, mere learning, empirical philosophy, with discovery and conquest. Beginning with the unearthing of the ancient world, continuing with the exploration of the earth, strengthened by the protest against outworn ecclesiastical doctrines and practice, the new spirit, though it could not solve the riddle of the universe, was at least able to relate man to his surroundings, and enable him in some degree to "think God's thoughts after Him."

The new spirit

Expressed in so many varying forms, a spirit of fierce energy, infusing every fiber of European life, had laid foundations of the new amid the ruins of the old. As always, the more spectacular operations of the destructive forces, which were devastating central Europe with fire and sword, overshadowed the constructive agencies. As always, the differences in form obscured the likeness of essence in these widely varying phenomena; for there seems small relation between the Thirty Years' War and the philosophy of Descartes, the Dutch attack on Brazil, and the Puritan movement in England. Yet in politics as in religion there was the same element of denial or distrust of authority; in commerce and philosophy the same reliance on personal judgment and initiative; in law and science the same respect for reason and investigation. Each of these felt a powerful impulse of secularization, not seldom verging on mere materialism, which was no less apparent in art and literature than in affairs.

This growing sense of the present and the material, of the worth and dignity of man's achievements in his world, appeared in education, which had long since begun to prepare its pupils for mundane rather than celestial activities. It was no less evident in commerce. There the reaction against the communistic element of the middle ages had been expressed in the substitution of great commercial firms and companies for the old guilds, as in the increasing absorption of common lands by individual proprietors. It was apparent in politics where the protest against the exercise of traditional and unlimited authority from above, which had inspired much of the religious revolt, was no less strong. The German Thirty Years' War owed nearly as much of its impulse to the desire to decentralize and decrease imperial power as to religious motives. The English Puritan Revolution was directed no less against royal and aristocratic privilege than against divine right in church and crown. For the tendency of the times in almost every field was in favor of the ascendancy of local, lower class, and individual interests.

The pursuit of wealth and power, like that of truth, in this new dispensation, was to be no longer the prerogative of the few but the privilege of the many.

The progress of science 1610-48

However great the connection between economics and politics, there would seem small relation between them and the development of new theories of the universe and God; yet they were now co-ordinate if not consequent phenomena. The generation which fought the Thirty Years' War and revolutionized colonial affairs made far-reaching conquests in the world of science and philosophy. While Italian statesmen were absorbed in the fierce rivalry for the Valtelline, among their compatriots, Borelli led the rising school of iatro-physicists toward a new theory of the human organism. Torricelli advanced physical knowledge and invented the barometer; and Gassendi gave the final blow to that Aristotelian philosophy which had so long hampered the advance of European thought. While Germany was rent with carnage, among a multitude of less well-known investigators Glauber made his discovery of nitric and hydrochloric acids and contributed to pharmacy curative agencies among which the sodium sulphate salt still commemorates his name. While James I quarreled with his Parliaments, Horrocks first observed the transit of Venus, Harvey demonstrated the circulation of the blood, and Bacon pointed the way to intellectual advance in his *Novum Organum*. And in the very years that Holland fought for her freedom and her life, the French-born philosopher, Descartes, returned from his experiences in camp and field to pursue his studies under her protection. Thus with all the shifting of rulers and of policies which altered the complexion of public affairs, the developments in fields remote from statecraft presaged a change in human affairs more profound and far-reaching than any effected by the activities of war and diplomacy.

Of the various influences which were destined to mold the future of mankind, the progress of science, now taking on new form and content, was vital to the next advance of European thought; and the generation now coming on the stage was to experience a revolution in its knowledge and its intellectual power scarcely surpassed even by the tremendous changes of the preceding century. It has been observed that among the differences between a modern European and the non-European peoples or his own progenitors, none is more marked than his capacity to discover and adapt the forces of nature to the benefit of man. In that process the seventeenth century, from its earliest years, played a decisive part. Not even the discovery of the western hemisphere and the seaway to the East, the classical revival, the renaissance of art, nor the religious revolution, were more important to the development of intellect—on which European existence depended—than the rise of scientific method and the increase of scientific knowledge which caused or accompanied these more spectacular events and helped insure their permanent value to mankind. Before it all the dominance of logic and authority, which had led European intellectual processes into blind alleys, gave way to that combination of reason and experiment which enabled men to set themselves upon new ways to wider truth. It did far more than increase knowledge, though its contribution in that field was of incalculable importance; it pre-eminently increased the intellectual capacity of man. Freed from the dead weight of precedent and authority, as scholasticism gave way to humanistic scholarship, natural science had gradually become a principal factor in European knowledge and thought. Now, after a century of experiment and theory, it prepared to enter on its rightful inheritance.

Chemistry

First in time, if not in importance, was the basic science of chemistry. It had been largely divorced from alchemy by the so-called "spagyrists" of the sixteenth century, pursuing Paracelsus' dictum that its true use was "not to make gold but to prepare medicines." Thus it had gradually turned from its search for the philosopher's stone, which would transmute baser to precious metals, to devote itself to the performance of the far more useful miracle of transforming sickness into health. With all their errors and ignorance its followers pressed on to that "iatro-chemistry" or therapeutics which marked a great advance in this fundamental science. The sixteenth century had seen the introduction and use of an extraordinary number of chemical preparations of antimony, lead, sulphur, iron, arsenic, and above all mercury. This last, especially in the treatment of syphilitic diseases, became one of the cornerstones of medical practice for two centuries. And it was of the greater importance because this terrible scourge—introduced from America by the Spaniards—had spread through Europe during the sixteenth century, and added another terror to life.

To this development many elements contributed, among them, especially, the universities and printing. The earliest considerable text-book of chemistry, that of the German Libavius, which appeared in the last decade of the sixteenth century, bears witness at once to the enormous increase of chemical knowledge which the preceding hundred years had produced and to the tendency toward the establishment of laboratories. This, after the dissecting rooms and clinics, marked the next advance in science. Under such influences the old doctrine of "elements" broke down before the discovery of acids and alkalis, and the re-discovery of the types and properties of liquids as exemplified in water. Men like the iatro-chemist, Van Helmont,—who first described bodies resembling air as "gas,"—proved that metals continued to exist in their compounds and salts. Thus they introduced the idea of the unchangeableness of matter and contributed to a new conception of chemistry and matter alike. Men like Tachenius, who first defined the term "salt" and introduced quantitive analysis; Agricola, who founded metallurgy; Palissy, who developed ceramics; von Hilden, who, besides his contributions to pure science, invented the tourniquet; and Glauber, who contributed alike to therapeutics and to technical chemistry, widened the bounds of knowledge and added to the resources of mankind. At the same time they illustrated the connection between the groups of sciences which on the one side facilitated all industrial processes from mining to dyeing, and on the other reinforced the efforts of the men of medicine.

Medicine

The latter, whether as scientists or as exponents of the art of healing, had, indeed, still far to go. The earliest efforts to "discover man" had been, naturally, directed toward anatomy or structure. Throughout the sixteenth century there had been slowly revealed the complicated system of the human frame and its organs; and surgery rather than medicine proper had made corresponding strides. Curative agencies were still largely empirical; and though the development of watches and clocks and the increasing skill of the practitioners made the observation of the pulse and temperature possible, it was scarcely before the seventeenth century was well advanced that these invaluable aids to diagnosis were in any sense well understood, much less used. Nevertheless, with the progress of anatomy and therapeutics, assisted by chemistry, advances had been made in what was to be the next stage of development, the determination of function, or physiology. This was, in no small degree, hampered by theory. The Galenic doctrine of "humors," or fluids which entered into the composition of the body, blood and phlegm, choler, or yellow bile, melancholy, or black bile,—whence we derive our terms of temperament, sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, and melancholy,—still existed, with its cures. These, by cupping or drugs, were supposed to reduce the amount of the particular humor and so restore the patient to health. Sanitation was scarcely known; and though the Black Death had virtually disappeared in the more advanced parts of the continent, fearful epidemics or plagues still persisted in the form of typhoid and smallpox for which there was as yet no adequate remedy.

It was perhaps inevitable that the discoveries in physics, and the consequent progress of the mechanistic doctrine of the universe, should have their effect upon medical theory; and there arose, in consequence, in opposition to the iatro-chemists what came to be known as the iatro-mathematical or iatro-physical school. As one of the curious results of the work of Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and the founders of modern astronomical knowledge, the principles of physics were imported into physiology. Under the lead of the Italian, Borelli, and his co-workers, a powerful group of thinkers, among whom the great philosopher, Descartes, was conspicuous, asserted that physiological processes were not chemical but the result of the laws of physics upon the human organism.

Harvey

In some measure, perhaps, this conception of man as a mechanism was strengthened by the labors of the great English physiologist, William Harvey, with whom the "science of man" set forth on another stage of its pilgrimage. For, from his studies in Italy, and still more from a long series of investigations after his return, he developed his theory of the circulation of the blood, and the passage of the whole blood of the body from the heart through the lungs, where it was purified. That discovery revolutionized every conception of the human body, and brought to an end the errors of Galen which had blinded men to the truth for fourteen centuries. And whether, as Harvey believed, this heart action was a purely muscular or mechanical process; or whether, as Borelli asserted, it was neurogenic, or of nervous origin, the demonstration of Harvey's discovery in his *Anatomical Exercise of the Movement of the Heart and Blood,* which appeared in the tenth year of the German war, marks an epoch in science as great as the appearance of Copernicus' volume on the solar system three-quarters of a century before.

1628

Biology

Stimulated by such work, no less than by the development of the microscope, and the consequent progress of the science of embryology, with the study of micro-organisms, the whole field of biology took on new life and form. As a century earlier the exploration of the unknown world had reinforced the uncovering of the classical civilization, so now the discovery of the earth and the heavens was compelled to share interest with the revelation of the physical side of man and the study of animal creation. For Harvey's work did not stand alone. To the labors of the compilers of the natural histories of the preceding century—the "encyclopedists," like Aldrovandi and Jonston—of Gesner, and of Harvey's teacher, Fabricius, who began the study of animal development, there had succeeded the problem of the origin and development of life. To this Harvey himself added the study of the chick within the egg, which was to prove so fruitful a source of investigation for centuries. To this, in particular, was added the work of the microscopists of the ensuing generation, Grew, Hooke, Malpighi, and the two great Dutchmen, Swammerdam and Leeuwenhoek. Men still believed, for the most part, in the ancient doctrine of spontaneous generation, and it was to be a century more before that ancient fallacy was overthrown. But in Harvey's dictum, *omne vivum ex ovo,* "all life comes from an egg," was voiced that principle which in time led to the proper realization of the beginning and development of living organisms.

From such work flowed results of great practical as well as of purely intellectual benefit to the human race. For with the rational study of organism and its physiological function, joined to the progress of chemistry and materia medica, modern medicine may be said to begin. While it was still possible to prescribe messes compounded of viper's flesh, crab's eyes, human perspiration, wood-lice, and almost every conceivable product of almost every conceivable animal, real and imaginary, men began to doubt their efficacy, and to suspect the empiricism of medicine no less than the dogmatism of theology. The European pharmacopœia, in consequence, began to include a great variety of those saner compounds of mineral and botanical products of known properties, more familiar to modern practice.

How great an effect this medical renaissance had upon men is demonstrated by one remarkable circumstance. The seventeenth century was not only the age *par excellence* of the publication of anatomical tables of scientific accuracy and great technical value. For the first time the surgeon and the doctor became subjects for the painter's brush. Probably no other period of European art counts among its productions so many relating to the labors of these professions. It is no mere accident that the greatest artist of the generation, Rembrandt, should find in a clinical demonstration the subject of one of his most wonderful pictures. It was the symbol of a changing world that his masterpiece was but one of scores devoted to the delineation of an art once scarcely less mysterious than astrology, but now taking on the form and spirit of science, and so relating itself to actualities.

Physics

Beside the discovery of man, meanwhile, went on the exploration of the universe. Great as were the advances in those sciences which had to do with the human body, those in physics, mathematics, and astronomy, which revealed the secrets of nature and its laws, were still more spectacular. Already men were coming to perceive the influence of one of the greatest forces which later generations were to subdue to their service. For the last year of the sixteenth century had seen the publication of Gilbert's volume on magnetism, the earliest landmark in the study of electricity. In this remarkable work he not merely differentiated between electricity and magnetism, established the terms "attraction" and "emanation" as the fundamentals of the new science, but propounded the possibility of communicating this force, and even conceived the earth as a great magnet. 1600

The telescope

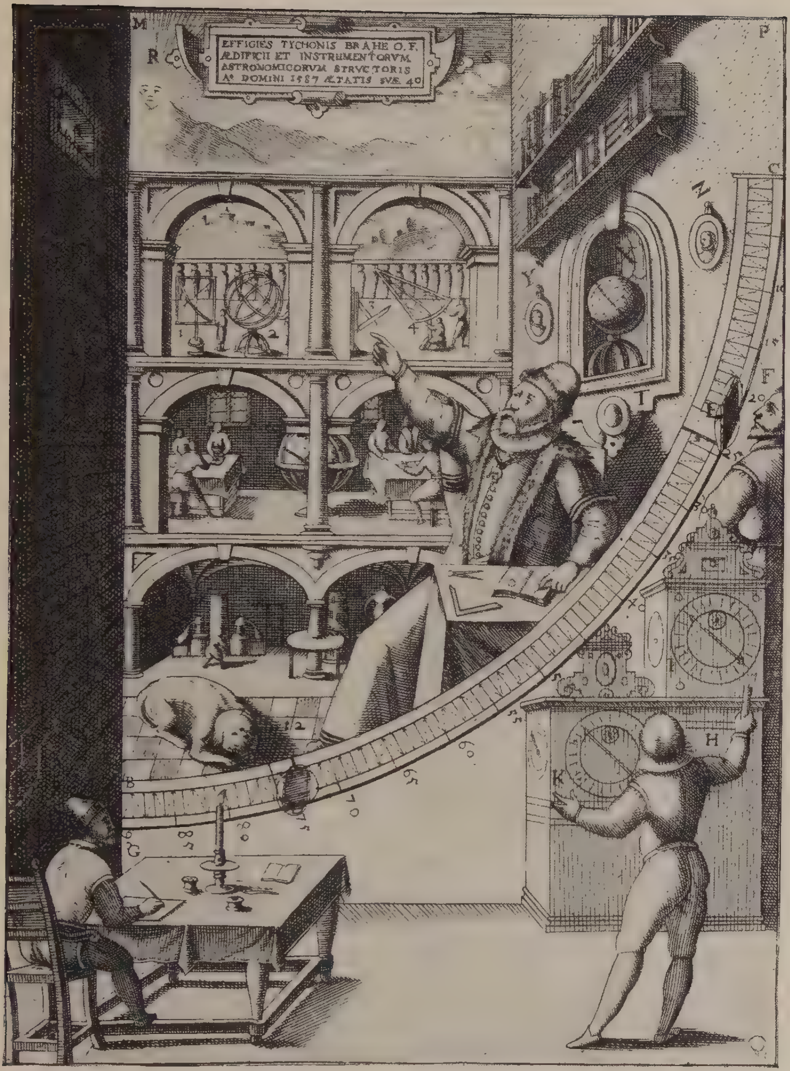
At the same time physical and astronomical science was developed in another direction,—the extension of man's faculty of sight. Centuries earlier Roger Bacon had declared the principle of the telescope, and his discovery had been more recently confirmed by three Englishmen, Harriott, Dee, and Diggs. Now, in this generation, almost simultaneously, three Dutch opticians, working independently, constructed a rude form of so-called "perspective glasses," or telescope, whose use spread rapidly throughout the continent. Coming to the hand of the Italian physicist, Galileo, it was perfected and applied to the uses of astronomy. Not even the discovery of the western hemisphere had more profound effect upon the European mind than this sudden extension of vision which brought knowledge of new worlds to man's intelligence. The mountainous surface of the moon; the composition of the Milky Way, which had so long perplexed astronomers and philosophers; the satellites of Jupiter; the peculiar form of Saturn; the phases of Venus; the solar spots; rewarded its discovery. European thought was revolutionized. The relationship between the earth and other planets was revealed; the Copernican hypothesis confirmed. The old doctrines of Aristotle concerning the divine essence and incorruptibility of planets, which had so long confused mankind, perished in a night, with all the misleading mysteries to which they had given rise, and the way was prepared for new and rational conceptions of the universe and man's place therein.

Tycho Brahe and Kepler

While man's physical capacity was thus extended in the field of sight as Galileo revealed the wonders of the heavens, two mathematical astronomers, both in the service of the "astrologer-Emperor," Rudolf II, Tycho Brahe and his greater pupil, Kepler, following the footsteps of Copernicus, extended the intellectual vision to even wider range and so pushed the bounds of human knowledge further still. The one, among other notable achievements, began that study of the comets which was to dispel mankind's long enduring fear of those monsters of the skies. In addition he determined some eight hundred fixed stars, and compiled observations of the planets, which, in his successor's hands, "furnished materials to construct the edifice of the universe." The other enunciated the two fundamental laws of planetary bodies,—that their orbits were elliptical and their distance from the sun bore direct relation to their revolutions. With this Kepler not merely opened the way to the general acceptance of the Copernican hypothesis but established the basic principles of solar astronomy, which were to overturn the older conceptions of both science and theology.

Napier's logarithms 1614

His great labors were made possible by a new invention, which he further adapted to the uses of astronomy. This was the logarithmic system, which had been devised by Napier to facilitate those endless computations on which the new science of the stars was founded. "Reducing to a few days the labour of many months, doubling the life of the astronomer and sparing him the errors and disgust inseparable from long calculations" . . . the human mind has the more reason to be proud of this invention as it was derived exclusively from its own resources. It did more than to render astronomy "supportable to human patience and industry,"


EFFIGIES TYCHONIS BRAHE O.F.
ÆDIFICII ET INSTRVMENTORVM
ASTRONOMICORVM STRVCTORIS
Aº DOMINI 1587 ÆTATIS SVÆ 40
M
R
S
P
C
N
Y
T
F
E
D
H
K
B
G
60
65
70
80

THE "GOLDEN QUADRANT" OF TYCHO BRAHE.

From the frontispiece of his *Astronomiae Instauratae Mechanica*, 1598. This great quadrant was used to determine the angle of elevation of stars. The observer is seen at the right, one assistant took the time of the observation, a third recorded the data. Above the astronomer is seen, over his head the celestial globe he invented, on either side of it the portraits of his patrons. In the background are shown above his other instruments and below his students at work. Note the books turned with edges out as in Prince Henry frontispiece. This was customary on account of the clasps injuring the binding of adjacent volumes.

or give to mathematical processes "incomparable precision and accuracy." It provided new powers and new methods of human intelligence, by which nature's secrets might be unraveled, and added unlimited capacities to the extension of the mathematical processes of the human mind. Finally there was developed, though more slowly, the compound microscope, which presently revealed the infinitely little to European eyes, as the telescope had revealed the infinitely great, and thus extended man's capacity in another direction.

Galileo and mechanics

At the same time that the celestial universe was thus unfolded to telescope and calculation, Galileo was engaged in founding the science of mechanics. With the determination of the laws of falling bodies, the composition of motions, and the equality and opposition of action and reaction, he established the basis for the three laws of motion. Moreover, his demonstrations added no less to statics than to dynamics; while his practical inventions of the thermometer and hydrometer, with his theory of "virtual velocities" and his study of molecular cohesion, witnessed at once the universality of his genius and the scope and content of a new school of physical knowledge.

Unlike the scholasticism and the dogmatic theology which it was to replace, that knowledge was based not on mere thought but on experiment. It was not restricted to the resources of the human mind working upon itself, nor did it depend on the contemplation of unknown and unknowable spiritual mysteries. If the discoverer of America a century before revealed a new world to European eyes, the scientists now unrolled a new universe. Their work reacted powerfully in other fields. The rapid development of the learned academies and societies; even the investigation of the so-called "mysteries of state," by inquiry into politics and government and the origin of authority itself, gave history and philosophy an impetus which was to revolutionize European thought and practice in the ensuing centuries. However slowly this new learning made its way among ignorant and uneducated masses, however little it improved the facilities of every-day life, its spirit and results profoundly affected every field of intellectual endeavor.

The new philosophy

Two elements this movement lacked. The first was a system of intellectual processes which should finally replace the formal logic of Aristotle with a true scientific method. The second was a system of philosophy which should take account of the advance in knowledge, and, by crystallizing its achievements and co-ordinating them with what remained of the older faith, provide men with a new intellectual and spiritual basis of existence. It is a striking fact that neither the Renaissance nor the Reformation produced a great thinker nor a new philosophy. Scholarship, religious experience, knowledge, and organization they had, with a revival of what, for want of a better word, we call piety. But it remained, strangely enough, for science to stimulate the faculties of thought to new achievements in the effort to determine something of man's nature and relationship as a creature of spirit and intellect. The need was soon supplied, and, characteristically, the prophets of the new era arose, not from among the theologians but from the ranks of men of affairs. Among the forces which Maximilian of Bavaria led to the conquest of the Palatinate in the early years of the Thirty Years' War, a young officer, René Descartes, French-born, and sometime a soldier under Maurice of Nassau, improved his leisure in reflections which led to the development of that philosophic system which revolutionized European thought and gave him a place in intellectual development scarcely second to those great Greek thinkers who had so long dominated the European intellect. Among the courtier-statesmen who adorned the age of Elizabeth and her successor, James I, Francis Bacon, sometime Lord Chancellor of England, brought from long classical and scientific study that summons to the search for causes of natural phenomena which became the next step of scientific advance. And, while these new elements were injected into the intellectual processes of Europe, they were reinforced by the labors of a Dutch jurist-diplomatist, Hugo Grotius, who drew from his long experience in public affairs, and his knowledge of law and of history, the material for a new theory of international relationships, destined to no less consequence in the world of political and even religious speculation than the labors of his great contemporaries.

Descartes 1596-1650

Of these none better represents this many-sided period of transition than Descartes. He approached his great task of explaining the universe and man not from the standpoint of dogmatic theory, but by way of science and worldly experience, by reason rather than revelation, by mechanism rather than by morals. He was a child of the past but a prophet of the future. He accepted the Copernican hypothesis and the doctrine of the infinity of space, yet he was capable of pilgrimage to saintly shrines. He was dependent on royal bounty for his livelihood, yet he lived in Holland to breathe there the freer air of independence. And while he proclaimed the dualism of mind and matter he explained the connection of body and soul by a divine relation—or the pineal gland!

Philosophy he entered by way of mathematics, and he remained "a geometrician with a taste for metaphysics rather than a philosopher with a leaning toward geometry and algebra." Perceiving, as he said, "those long chains of reasoning which geometers are wont to employ in the accomplishment of their most difficult demonstrations, led me to think that everything which might fall under the cognizance of the human mind might be connected together in the same manner, and that, provided only one should take care not to receive anything as true which was not so, and if one were always careful to preserve the order necessary for deducing one truth from another, there could be none so remote at which he might not arrive at last, nor so concealed which he might not discover." In such mathematical and mechanistic spirit did this new prophet approach the riddle of man, the universe and God.

To this he added such knowledge of anatomy and physiology as his age possessed; and with this equipment he attempted to deduce from an infinity of axioms and definitions, observations and reflections, a system of belief, rational and irrefutable. In opposition to the doctrine of the schoolmen, "I believe, that I may know," he set up that dictum which might well be taken for the motto of all scientific advance, "I doubt, that I may know." His still more famous phrase, "*Cogito, ergo sum,*" "I think, therefore I am," was the kernel of a belief utterly at variance with the older faith. His explanation of the universe and man as mechanism, and his rejection of all authority save that of reason, led him to adherence to a rule of conduct rather than of faith as the true test of morality. He assumed the existence of three realities as having been proved, God, the individual body and spirit of man, and the material world or universe. And in his great work, the *Discours de la Méthode,* he both systematized thought and replaced the older theological bases of philosophy with those of science. He gave the world new glimpses of truth, and, what was still more important, a new method of approach to the riddle of the universe. This, rather than his establishment of modern analytical geometry, his proposal of the vortex theory of matter, and his enunciation of the laws of refraction, important as they were, remains his chief contribution to the advance of human intellect.

Bacon 1561-1626

Before Descartes had begun his philosophical career Bacon had brought powerful and much needed aid to the agencies in which the French philosopher had found the inspiration for his work. What Descartes was to modern thought, Bacon was to modern science. What the *Discours de la Méthode* was to philosophy the *Novum Organum Scientiarum,* written as part of a larger work, the *Instauratio Magna,* or new basis of knowledge, was to scientific processes. Each, indeed, was based in some degree upon the fallacy that a method could be devised to arrive at truth by an infallible system of reason and experiment, enabling mediocrity to achieve the same results as genius by industriously applying its method to the problems of nature and thought. That fallacy has not yet been wholly eliminated from either field. But Bacon's contribution, like that of Descartes, was far deeper than this. If the French philosopher laid emphasis on deduction, the English scientific thinker laid equal stress upon inductive processes, and so clearly marked the point at which modern thought divorced itself from mediæval scholasticism. He enforced the doctrine of selection among the mass of observed phenomena, and thus fused reason into experiment. While he accorded theology the first place among the sciences, he declared the search for first causes no part of science proper. By this means he avoided the still powerful enmity of ecclesiastical influences, and laid down the line to which that branch of intellectual activity has since confined itself.

He was at once the exponent of the critical spirit and the prophet of the school which sought the sources of knowledge in nature and its progress through investigation. He "excepted against those who presumed to dogmatize on nature," as against those who asserted that "nothing whatever can be known"; and no less against those who "by only employing the power of the understanding . . . have laid their whole stress upon meditation and a perpetual agitation of the mind." "Our only hope and salvation," he declared, "is to begin the whole labor of the mind again and attain our end, as it were, by mechanical aid." "We must first by every kind of experiment elicit the discovery of causes and true axioms, recognize nature as man's true heritage, and seek not only phenomena but causes." Doubt, he declared with Descartes, was the only true test of truth; and the *primum mobile,* that vague, omnipotent "first cause," the only hypothesis to be advanced in explanation of the origin and conduct of creation to which he and most men give the name of God. Unlike the tendency toward the abstract reasoning which attracted the continental mind, English philosophy, beginning with Bacon, clung to the concrete and allied itself with science. It opposed equally the old schoolmen and the new metaphysicians, and founded its reasoning upon the surer basis of observation and induction. Thus, of all the schools of philosophy, it contributed most to the advance of the so-called "positive" sciences whose development was so rapid in these years. For to Bacon, and to most of his Anglo-Saxon successors, final causes were "barren virgins," and the line between science and theology, knowledge and faith, reason and revelation was clear and distinct. And "finding it impossible to write a history of what men knew, he wrote one of what they had to learn."

Finally in his incomparable *Essays,* in his *Advancement of Learning,* the first prose work on a secular subject written in English, as in his *Novum Organum,* the clear, convincing style, infused with wisdom and mellowed by experience, spread the influence of the doctrines with an eloquence which reached far wider than the actual contribution which he made to science itself. Thenceforth the instrument whose use he championed found no opponents in the scientific world. And though his actual experiments fell far short of Galileo's, though his philosophy found more powerful expression in Descartes, Bacon remained the herald and the champion of the new scientific host. For "he moved the intellects that moved the world."

The modern spirit

From the day of Bacon and Descartes, though to most men, perhaps, the human race remained the center of the theological universe, and its affairs the chief concern of God, it was increasingly evident that neither the earth nor man held the position in the material universe that had once been believed. Still less was it conceivable, to a small but increasing element of thinkers, that any nation, class, or individual, whatever its relation to non-European peoples, held a divine authority to control the actions, much less the thought, of its fellow-Europeans. Unequal, unrelated as its progress was; while even Bacon knew little of Galileo and could not accept Copernicus; while Roman curia and most Protestant divines rejected the new learning of science, which filtered slowly through the masses of the continent; while at the same time that English royal power was overthrown the doctrine of the divine right of kings flourished and continental monarchs increased their power; the modern spirit maintained itself and made headway. It was, indeed, still possible for theologians to declare that "the opinion of the earth's motion is of all heresies most abominable"; but among the more enlightened laity the geocentric theory of the universe was fast disappearing before that of a heliocentric solar system.

The telescope had revealed the heavens, not as the abode of blessed spirits, but as the more substantial and no less marvelous realm of planets and fixed stars. In the light of physical and mathematical discoveries it was increasingly apparent that, whatever the ultimate ruling power, the material universe was under the immediate dominion, not of an inscrutable and arbitrary Providence, but of natural laws, immutable, doubtless divine, but discoverable and comprehensible by men. For, rightly or wrongly, the mechanical theory of the universe had begun definitely to replace the theological, in the mind of Europe.

Grotius
1583-1645

While Bacon and Descartes thus laid foundations for a modern world in the great fields of science and philosophy, while Galileo and his fellow-scientists advanced the bounds of knowledge in every direction, another powerful intellect invaded the realms of law and politics. This was Hugo Grotius, sometime historiographer of the Revolt of the Netherlands, advocate-general of the United Provinces, and author of a famous doctrine, the *Mare Liberum,* designed to controvert the Portuguese contention that the eastern seas were their private possession. Grotius was involved in the disturbances which cost Oldenbarneveldt his life, condemned to life imprisonment by Maurice of Nassau, escaped to France, and there published his great work, *De jure belli et pacis.* From his long experience in public affairs and as an advocate, from his wide reading, and his unrivaled knowledge of historical precedent, he drew materials for this first and greatest manual of international law. It was based upon principles of right and justice in government and society, derived not from the Bible but from morality. Written amid the distractions of a great religious war, it proclaimed the doctrine of a deep underlying ''law of nature'' in human relations, independent of religious beliefs and practices, and no less immutable than those great axioms of science then being revealed by his co-workers in far different fields. This revolutionary doctrine—whose ultimate consequence upon theology he hesitated to express—was supplemented by his contributions to the study of religion, a statement of the evidence for the truth of Christianity, stripped of doctrinal argument, and infused with principles of piety common to all communions, but overshadowed or totally eclipsed by the contentions of controversial dogmatists.

Bruno 1548-1600

Bacon, Descartes, and Grotius were not solitary thinkers, nor were theirs the only contributions made to the scientific and metaphysical spirit then making way in European thought. Before any of them had begun his labors the Italian, Giordano Bruno, first of the sixteenth century metaphysicians to accept the heliocentric system of Copernicus, had attacked the Aristotelian theory of the spheres and enunciated the doctrine of the infinity and the continuity of space. No barriers, he declared, separated our world from that reserved for angels and the supreme being. Heaven was nothing more than the infinite universe, God the soul of that universe, immanent, omnipresent, the eternal cause and active principle, the soul a vital principle emerging from and returning to the infinite. Philosophy was to him the search for unity; and—so far was he removed from the ecclesiastical influence—he derided the mysteries of the faith, and classed the Jewish traditions with Greek myths. It is small wonder that he became anathema to the church or that, returning into its domains from long residence in England and Germany, he was seized by the authorities of the Inquisition and by them imprisoned and burned.

Campanella 1568-1639

To the teachings of Bruno were added those of another Italian, Campanella. Basing his philosophy upon the Greek skeptics, he held that all knowledge was founded on experience and reasoning; that power, will, and knowledge were the principles of being, which he regarded not as absolute but as relative; God alone being absolute, from whom all beings proceed and to whom they return. Like Bruno, but unlike such philosophers as Descartes, Campanella extended his speculations to the realm of politics, and his *City of the Sun,* in which he embodied his theories, became, after More's *Utopia,* the next considerable attempt to delineate an ideal society. Unlike More's great work, it based itself largely upon Plato. It lacked that touch of life and reality which makes the English theory at once more sympathetic and more practical; and it falls far short of Campanella's own description of the Spanish monarchy of his own time, against which he rebelled, and by which he was punished with nearly thirty years of imprisonment.

Thus in the hands of the philosophers was revolutionized the thought of Europe with its method of intellectual approach at the same moment that the experimental scientists provided more and more material for its use. And if there is one characteristic of this early seventeenth century more striking than another, it is the gradual penetration of the scientific and rational method into every department of human activity which related itself to the intellect. Its most marked result was naturally in theology. But it was beginning, in the hands of Grotius and Bruno and Campanella, still more in the work of the Englishman Hobbes, to relate itself to politics. There, in no long time, it was to play an active part in those practical concerns of human government which were presently to reshape the world of affairs no less than the realms of thought. Such were the movements which remolded the habits of mind of more than half the continent.

The early seventeenth century—the beginning of the modern world

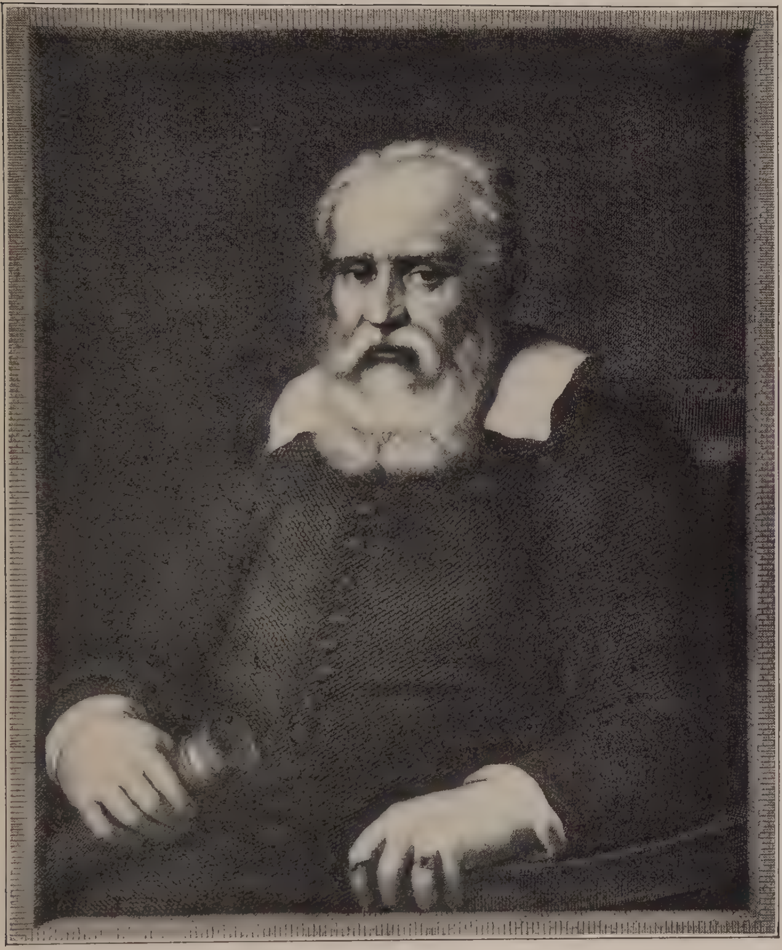
If, then, we consider the periods in which, as in our own, the whole fabric of society has been altered by changes in tastes, habits, and the contribution of science, arts, and crafts, we shall find few to compare with the first decades of the seventeenth century. To a man who witnessed the Spanish Armada in his youth and the disturbances in Germany and England in his age—and there were many such—it must have seemed that in his later years he confronted a new world. He would have seen naval supremacy pass from Spain, and England share with Holland the mastery of the sea. He would have seen but little political liberty, still less equality, and no religious tolerance, but he would have witnessed the conflicts from which in some measure all three were to spring. Had he been an Englishman, he would have seen or read *Hamlet* and *As You Like It,* read Spenser's *Faerie Queene,* Bacon's *Essays,* and perhaps the *Novum Organum.* A Spaniard, he would have seen Lope de Vega's plays and chuckled over Don Quixote; an Italian, he would have been enraptured with Tasso, seen Bruno burned at the stake and Galileo recant those doctrines which struck the final blow to the old cosmogony. He might even have observed with him those

> Imagined lands and regions in the Moon,

which

> Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
> At evening, from the top of Fesolé.

At Rome he would have seen the splendor of the completed St. Peter's, and listened to Palestrina's music in the Vatican. In Venice he would have heard the earliest of European opera. In the Netherlands he would have been absorbed in the great commerce which poured through her ports, listened to her scholars, looked with admiration on the masterpieces from the brushes of Rembrandt and Hals, and read for the first time of the doctrine of the freedom of the sea and the principles of international relationships. He might well have heard from the lips of Descartes those doctrines of the mechanism of the universe and man, and of the dualism of spirit and matter, which had begun to revolutionize man's concepts of himself and the world in which he lived. In whatever land, he might have learned for the first time that the blood circulated in his body; that the earth revolved about the sun, and formed part of a vast universal system of planets and starry worlds beyond. And in whatever tongue he might have read Montaigne. Meanwhile, he would have observed the appearance and habits of his fellows change before his eyes. He would have had to learn to wear knee-breeches and perhaps to smoke, to play billiards and muddle his brains more expeditiously with stronger drinks, to like or dislike the taste of tea and coffee, to cure his ague with quinine,—in brief, he would have come to think and do the things which mark him as a modern man.



GALILEO.

After a 17th century engraving, a fine example of the excellence which that art achieved in this period.

CHAPTER XXII

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION. 1642-1648

"IF an amnesty universally sincere and without condition is not conceded, and their rights not fully restored to the States, and the Treaty of Prague and the Edict of Restitution not fully set aside, if everything is not restored to the state of things which existed in 1618 before the war, all treaties of peace will be in vain—and everything will be in confusion, disillusionment, and dismemberment in the whole Empire." Thus wrote the Brandenburg agent in the first months of 1641, as his opinion of the situation into which affairs had come as the result of the long German conflict. It was, in brief, a confession of the failure of the whole struggle to affect the religious question in any particular, and it represented, virtually, the conclusion at which no small part of the German people had arrived after more than twenty years of bitter experience. But it was more than a confession; it was, in some sort, a prophecy; and its utterance reveals that the beginning of the end was now at hand.

The dawn of peace

The Thirty Years' War, which had now spread desolation over central Europe for nearly a quarter of a century, bade fair to exceed in duration and destruction, in the number and variety of contestants engaged, the interests represented, and the dramatic circumstances of the conflict, any such contest waged on European soil since the destruction of the western Roman Empire. Thus far the efforts to bring it to an end had hardly sufficed to produce even a temporary truce. The feeling that the Swedes would be unable to maintain themselves in Germany after Gustavus' death, the lessening resources of the Hapsburgs, and the death of Wallenstein, had combined to produce the Peace of Prague. This, though it **1635** restored no Protestant ruler who had been dispossessed since the Swedes landed in Pomerania, and no church lands acquired by Protestants virtually since the death of Mansfeld at Lutter; though it afforded no protection to the reformed communions in Catholic states, nor to Calvinists anywhere, had been largely accepted by Protestant rulers.

Preliminaries of Westphalia

But that treaty, as events soon proved, was far from ending the war. The persistence of the Swedes and the ambition of France made it of as little avail to determine the controversy as the ensuing conferences of Hamburg and Cologne, or the efforts of Pope and Emperor to ensure peace. None the less, most parties were inclined to treat, either to make sure their gains or to preserve the remnants of their power. Thus when, **1641** a year before the death of Richelieu, it was proposed to hold a new congress, most of the warring elements consented. The adjacent towns of Münster and Osnabrück in Westphalia were designated as a meeting-place. The district was neutralized; and though the spring of the year 1642, which was set for the assembling of the diplomats, went by without action, little by little the preliminary negotiations by which all parties sought to improve their positions before entering on formal engagements were consummated. Two years after the time set for the first session, the quiet Westphalian towns were crowded with the agents and ambassadors of the respective powers. There, under the direction of the imperial plenipotentiary, von Trautmannsdorff, the huge, unwieldy mass of claims and counter-claims began to shape itself into the beginnings of a final settlement.

The progress of the war 1642-8

Meanwhile, beyond the long, tortuous negotiations of the diplomats, the war went on, though more and more haltingly. Frenchmen and Swedes, Bavarians and Imperialists, Danes and north-Germans, in the general mêlée, strove to maintain or to improve their status in the council by triumphs in the field; and the fortunes of states contending in diplomacy rose and fell with news of each engagement. But even while continental eyes were fixed upon these last convulsive struggles of the European war, while the most imposing array of diplomats yet assembled in European council sought, through the longest negotiation in European history, to find the *via media* which led to peace, beyond the view of the ambassadors and the sound of German conflict there arose a new struggle, first of politics and principles, then of arms, which was destined to be of no less importance to the development of Europe than the greater war now drawing to an end. This was the conflict between the English crown and Parliament, which, at the very moment set for the assembling of the ambassadors in Westphalia, had reached its crisis in the royal appeal to arms.

The English Civil War

It came as the climax of a long and bitter rivalry. What Germany had been to Europe in the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century, England was now about to become, the focus of a struggle between rival doctrines and practices, on which depended the future of politics and thought. In the eventful year which saw the removal of Richelieu and Olivarez from affairs and the first steps toward peace in Germany, the smoldering antagonism between the English king and his subjects burst into open war. The causes of the conflict were twofold. The quarrel had begun with the efforts of James and Charles to crystallize the Tudor "absolutism by popular consent" into legal form, and to force the more advanced Protestants, the so-called Puritans, into conformity to the Anglican establishment. To that end James had striven to make the crown in fact and name the sole arbiter of church and state. His son had followed in his steps, with greater obstinacy and still less tact; till in the year of the Peace of Lübeck between the Emperor and the Danish king, he had dismissed his Parliament and sent the leaders of the opposition to the Tower. His arbitrary measures had been accompanied by the protest of the Commons against taxation without consent of Parliament, against the "innovations" by which the so-called High Church Anglicans were endeavoring to force the Puritans into more formal observance of doctrines and practices which seemed to the extreme Protestants to smack too much of Rome. **1642** **1629**

Its origin 1629-42

With this, as the conflict progressed in Germany, England entered upon eleven years of unparliamentary government, without a parallel in English history. Driven to curtail expenditure, the king made peace with France and Spain, and England ceased to play a part in international politics. Driven to raise revenue in default of parliamentary grant, he resorted to long-obsolete taxes, and stretched his authority to the uttermost by levying so-called "ship-money" on the inland counties to equip a fleet. At the same time, under the High Church archbishop, Laud, conformity was enforced. The communion-table of the Puritan congregations was removed from its place in the body of the church, set in its old position in the chancel and again enrailed as an altar. The Anglican form of worship was rigidly enjoined; and Puritan sensibilities were still further wounded by a "declaration of sports" which authorized the use of the Sabbath, on which they set such store, for games and amusements of all kinds. Not content with this, the king commissioned the royal governor of Ireland, Wentworth, to raise an army there; and permitted Laud to attempt the introduction of the Anglican prayer-book into Presbyterian Scotland.

Its outbreak 1637 The result was an explosion. The refusal of a country squire, John Hampden, to pay ship-money threw the popular cause into the law courts, whose subservient judges decided for the crown. The effort to use the prayer-book in Edinburgh produced a riot. The oppression of the Puritans drove thirty thousand emigrants to New England, and fatally antagonized those who remained. The raising of an Irish army roused a not ungrounded fear of absolutism by royal *coup d'état.* 1638 When the Scotch drew up a Solemn League and Covenant to defend their faith and abolished episcopacy and the new liturgy, the storm began to break. It was in vain Charles summoned an army to march against the northern 1639 rebels, to whose assistance Scotch volunteers hurried from Gustavus' old force in Germany. The English king found himself as impotent to fight as he had been to govern, and 1640 he was driven to summon a short-lived Parliament, which offered supplies only in return for the redress of grievances.

The Long Parliament 1640- Upon its dismissal the crisis approached. After an ignominious defeat by the Scotch forces, and a futile assembly

of the peers, Charles was compelled to call another Parliament, his fifth, and, as it proved, his last. At once the long-cherished projects of reform appeared, with an attack on the prerogative. Wentworth and Laud were sent to prison and thence to the scaffold. The continuance of Parliament was assured; the old courts of Star Chamber and High Commission were destroyed and with them the chief danger to church and individuals from the crown. Hard on these reforms the news of a massacre of Irish Protestants roused England to fury; and, as the quarrel deepened, the Commons issued a Grand Remonstrance, or summary of their griev- **1641**
ances which prompted the king to an unwise revenge. Backed by his guards and courtiers he came in person to the House to seize five opposition leaders; then, foiled of his prey, he left London, and presently raised his standard at Nottingham, at the same moment that, on the continent, the preliminaries of a great congress to end the war received the **1642**
sanction of the Emperor. Thus there began, on English soil, a struggle between the crown and Parliament which was to play a part in the development of political liberty comparable to that which the German conflict had earlier played in the field of religious thought and practice.

Europe 1642-8

The six years which followed the beginnings of peace negotiations in Westphalia and the simultaneous outbreak of war in the British Isles, form a peculiarly destructive period of European history. While diplomats sought a basis of settlement in the protected district of Münster and Osnabrück which was set apart for their deliberations, the tide of battle rolled unchecked back and forth across the rest of Germany, turning its fertile fields into a wilderness. From that conflict religious elements had long since disappeared, and with them whatever vital interest the struggle held. What remained was the selfish political designs of the combatants. On the one side the Emperor and his allies, headed by Bavaria, struggled to maintain the power they once held; on the other the Swedes and French strove to reduce that power and exalt their own. Spain, still faithful to the Hapsburg interest and her own, waged separate war with

France. The smaller powers were no less involved. The Transylvanian adventurer, Ragocsky, following in the footsteps of his predecessor, Bethlen Gabor, brought like diversion against the Emperor on the side of Hungary, and with no more permanent result. Finally Denmark, reversing her former rôle in the face of Sweden's threatened supremacy, again entered the war on the imperial side only to suffer the vengeance of her Scandinavian rival.

The Thirty Years' War—final stage

That power alone maintained its long ascendancy in arms still unimpaired. Baner followed Gustavus; Torstenson, Baner; and Wrangel succeeded Torstenson, as commander-in-chief, with little change in Swedish success against the Imperialists. Had France found a worthy successor to Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, whose army she inherited on his death, the fate of the Hapsburgs might have been sealed. But her generals, save the young Turenne, exhibited few of the qualities which made their great partisan predecessor only second to Wallenstein; and the new Emperor, Ferdinand III, on his part, found no commander to ensure him the peace he so much coveted. Thus the conflict declined into a long and dreary chronicle of march and counter-march, defeat and victory, with their wastage of life and property, in pursuit of what advantage there was to be gained in the approaching peace.

Meanwhile France invaded Spain; Spain, France; with little more result, save that, in the battle of Rocroy, the genius of the young Condé was revealed and a death-blow dealt to the ascendancy of those great Spanish squares of infantry which in a hundred years had found their only rival in the Swedes. And, as if it were not enough that all the west and north should feel the weight of war, Italy endured a conflict between the Papacy and its confederated enemies, while the Turk, rousing from his long lethargy, fell once more upon Venice, and, landing upon Crete, took up again his task of wresting the islands of the eastern Mediterranean from Christian hands.

1643

1645

England 1642-8

Thus, everywhere in Europe, as the mid-seventeenth century approached, her people stood arrayed in conflicts, which for the most part were of importance to the future of the world only because of the shifting of lands or authority from one hand to another. In England the case was different. The struggle there begun involved the greatest problem which had divided European minds since the religious schism between Catholic and Protestant—the problem of popular share in government. It was, indeed, a long-standing issue. Since the fall of the Roman Republic, save in a few and scattered instances, like the so-called republics of the north Italian city-states, some Swiss cantons, and the trading communities of northern Germany, political power had remained all but unquestioned in the hands of kings and aristocracies. The feudal régime had divided men into two castes, noble and non-noble, with an ever-increasing rigidity of class. When national kingship conquered the growing anarchy of feudal privilege, it had checked the right of private war, set the king's justice in place of feudal courts, reduced the aristocracy to dependence on itself, and substituted its central authority for the divergent interests of the great independent lords of the land. But in so doing it had neither destroyed that class nor raised the lower elements to equality. Society remained, therefore, an aristocracy.

The middle class

In one direction, none the less, conditions had greatly altered in the preceding three centuries. This was in the development of a wealthy middle class. The growth of commerce, the arts, and industries had vastly increased the resources of the commercial groups which, under the improved economy by which national kingship secured to them the fruits of their labors, now formed an important element in nearly every state. But that importance was not political. While the middle classes welcomed absolutism as a cure for anarchy, they had too often gained peace at the expense of privilege. In Spain the absolutism of Ferdinand the Catholic had united the scattered territories of his far-spreading kingdom, but it had suppressed the old popular assembly of the Cortes. In France the early years of Louis XIII had seen the last meeting of the States General. Even in Holland the Orange ascendancy had tended to subordinate the most powerful commercial middle class in Europe to the Stadtholderate. Thus, while throughout the more progressive nations of western and northern Europe economic evolution had elevated serfs to free tenants and made burghers equal in wealth to the landed class, it had given to neither a greater voice in government.

The Parliament

Even England, which retained more of the earlier and freer Teutonic institutions than any European state, had, for a time, threatened to follow a like course with France and Spain. The Wars of the Roses had destroyed her ancient baronage, and Tudor rulers had surrounded the throne with a nobility created by the crown, dependent on it and devoted to its interests. Unable to do away with Parliament, even had they wished, they had sought to keep it under their control by creating new boroughs. From these they drew a body of representatives to support the cause of the crown in the Commons, and so continued to manage what they could no longer dominate. There the resemblance to the continent had ceased. The Parliament was neither destroyed nor rendered impotent. Through the convulsions of the sixteenth century it had acted as the ally no less than as the agent of the crown. Its more advanced element would have pushed the Reformation beyond the bounds determined by the Elizabethan government. But it was not until the first Stuart kings endeavored to make that settlement absolute by the oppression of the Puritans, and the transformation of the personal arbitrariness of the Tudors into a legal despotism, that there came a test of strength.

The opposing elements

When, therefore, on that stormy day of August, 1642, Charles I raised his standard at Nottingham, there began one of the decisive struggles of European history. On the one side were ranged the forces of ancient privilege and authority, the clergy and most of the nobility, a great part of the gentry and their followers, drawn to defend the old establishment, the altar, and the throne. Against them were arrayed a heterogeneous company, the so-called Puritans, a few of the greater nobility, many of the lesser gentry, and the overwhelming majority of the trading communities, or moneyed class. Though these last included many Anglicans, they were, for the most part, of the more liberal, so-called Presbyterian element; while the mass of the rebellious party was made up of Nonconformists or sectarians, advanced Protestants opposed alike to the hierarchy and the liturgy of an episcopal establishment. Without exception the remaining English Catholics were on the side of royalty. Yet neither party was to be classified on purely religious grounds, least of all the so-called Puritans. Their chief importance was political, for, whatever their religious beliefs, they were united in opposing unparliamentary government; and the great issue was less a matter of creed than a question as to whether the crown or the people was the final authority in church and state.

Character of the war

The conflict which ensued partook of the peculiar character of the parties engaged. At the outset many on either side distrusted too great success for their own cause. Most Royalists would have bitterly opposed the destruction of Parliament; few Parliamentarians dreamed of destroying the crown; nor was either result at first conceivable. In consequence war and negotiation went continually hand in hand, till compromise was seen to be impossible. The military operations, as well, were what might have been expected from a warlike but unmilitary nation which had been at peace for more than a generation. Neither in numbers nor in skill was the earlier stage of the English Civil War comparable to the concurrent struggles on the continent, however it surpassed the last conflicts of the Thirty Years' War in the principles involved. From those conflicts, indeed, many hastened to take part in the great rebellion. The king's nephews, Rupert and Maurice, came from the Palatinate to his aid; Gustavus' old chief of staff, Leslie, to command the Scots. Soldiers like Monk from Condé's French Huguenot army and Vere's regiment in the Netherlands, so long a school of arms for English gentlemen, hurried home to take their part in the conflict. Some, like the first parliamentary commander, Essex, the royalist general, Hopton, and his opponent, Waller, had seen service in the Palatinate.

But many others, like the greatest of them all, Cromwell and Blake, had left field and shop for the pursuit of arms. Thus England became in no long time a battle-ground not only of religious and political principles but of all the contemporary schools of warfare.

The early engagements 1642

But the development was slow. In the beginning what advantage there was lay with the royalist cavalry drawn from the hunting element fostered by the country gentlemen. At Edgehill, and again at Newbury, as in the king's attempt to seize London, only inexperienced commanders prevented a decision. Thus, with the second twelvemonth of the war, the Parliament, fearing for its existence, came to terms with **1643** the Scotch Presbyterians, signed the Solemn League and Covenant, committed England to that form of faith, and received, in turn, a Scotch army for its aid. At the same time a voluntary association of the eastern counties, in which a Huntingdonshire gentleman, one Oliver Cromwell, became conspicuous, organized a body of so-called Ironsides, picked men, well-drilled, severely disciplined cavalry, able to meet Prince Rupert's cavaliers on equal terms.

The New Model 1644

Under these conditions the crisis was not long delayed. The Scotch were, indeed, defeated by the king's army, but, in turn, the royal force was crushed at Marston Moor by Cromwell's Ironsides. Emphasized by a brilliant diversion of Montrose in the Highlands, and the defeat of parliamentary forces in the south, the lesson was decisive. The army was reorganized into a New Model, by Cromwell, who, **1645** with Fairfax, replaced its old commanders. At Naseby the last effective resistance of the king was beaten down, his papers were seized, and he himself fled to the Scotch army. By it he was surrendered to the Parliament, and by them held a prisoner.

The Independents

Such were the circumstances under which successful revolution broke royal power in the British Isles. But, at the very height of their success, the revolutionaries all but lost the fruits of their exertions, for they fell out among themselves. Parliament, still strongly Presbyterian, found itself opposed by an element which had come to control the army, and had acquired no small influence in the nation at large. This was the group known as the sects, the advanced Protestant denominations, among which the so-called Independents took the lead. Strongly individualistic in their beliefs, as their name indicated, they were opposed to any set forms or prescribed doctrine and liturgy. Deeply devout, they were peculiarly tolerant of all forms of church government save the episcopal, which smacked too much of intrenched authority; while, with their liberal religious tendencies, they had strong leanings toward democracy in state as well as church.

Their triumph

Amid these warring elements the king still dreamed of finding an advantage for himself, and, in their discords, recovering his power. Thus he intrigued with each party in turn till he had forfeited what little confidence each had in his integrity, and the army became determined to temporize no longer with such evasion. The king was seized by their authority; and his negotiation with the Scotch brought as its chief result the renunciation of allegiance by his rebellious subjects. With this, events took on a darker tinge. Cromwell defeated a Scotch army of invasion at Preston Pans, and so relieved all danger from that side. The Parliament was purged of its recalcitrant Presbyterians, and the army, through its adherents of the so-called Rump and its Council of Officers, became the sole arbiter of English destinies.

1646-7

1648

The end of the German war 1648

Such was the situation of affairs, as the long war in Germany drew to a close. The months that saw the great conflict determined, with the fate of English monarchy, were, indeed, heavy with import to the European world. While from his Newport prison Charles I was making his last effort to come to terms with Parliament, great events were stirring elsewhere. In Bohemia the French and Swedes pushed on a final, desperate attempt to wrest from their exhausted enemies that part of Prague still in Imperialist hands. In Poland the Cossacks of the Ukraine began a great revolt, while the Crimean khan led the most terrible foray in Russian history against the Muscovites and Poles. France saw the outbreak of that amazing civil "war of the women," the so-called

Fronde, and the eastern Mediterranean beheld the Turkish fleet advancing to the siege of Candia which was to endure for twenty years.

Other European activities

Besides these, in Europe itself as in her far-flung possessions oversea, a multitude of events of less conspicuous quality contributed, at this juncture, to the great transformation of the European world. George Fox began that preaching career which added the Quakers to the ranks of the Protestant denominations. In America a twofold conflict among the New England colonies and between them and their Dutch neighbors began to make itself felt in the affairs of that continent. Beyond them still, a struggle between the most powerful of the native tribes, the Iroquois, and their native enemies, aided by the French, added a bloody chapter to colonial history, and a new martyrology to the Jesuits. Far to the south, meanwhile, the genius of the Madeiran, Vieyra, which three years before had inspired revolt against the Dutch in Brazil, now organized, from Portugal, a company like that by which Holland had gained her ascendancy. Thence he despatched a fleet which was to turn the tide of victory to his followers and wreck Dutch aspirations in that quarter of the world. At the same moment, on the other side of the earth, the Christian faith was driven from Japan; and that nation was removed from European influence for two hundred years.

1648-9

The signature of the Peace of Westphalia Oct. 24, 1648

Such were a few of the diverse activities, which, standing out from the dull warp of commonplace affairs, gave color and form to the great and varied fabric which from day to day fell from the loom of European life. Among them all, one now became the central figure of the great design. This was signature of the tremendous document which brought to an end the European war by the Peace of Westphalia. Few instruments in history have been of such long gestation, few have brought to an end so long a conflict, none more clearly marks a great dividing line in human affairs. From the deliberations of six years, while the whole European world shook with the thunder of contending armies, there emerged a settlement which, however inadequate to insure continued peace, shifted the whole balance of future conflict and gave to devastated Germany a needed breathing-space.

Its terms

The terms of the various agreements which made up the Peace of Westphalia were as voluminous and nearly as complex as the issues which they professed to meet. But from the mass of verbiage emerged three leading facts. The first was the supremacy of Sweden in the north; the second was the securing of French frontiers at the expense of the Empire; the third was recognition of the independence of the republics of Switzerland and the United Netherlands. The last involved no transfers of territory; but the first two revolutionized the map of central Europe.

Sweden

In brief, the principal changes centered in the gains of Sweden and of France. With the lands which stretched along the north German coast from Stettin to Denmark; with Verden, the bishopric of Bremen, and Weimar in their grasp, the Swedes came close to that absolute control of the Baltic to which they had so long aspired. With three votes in the Imperial Diet, by virtue of her new possessions in Germany, Sweden added to her position as the mistress of the north that of the most powerful feudatory of the Empire. Such was the "satisfaction" of Sweden.

France

Nor was the victory of France much less. For the first time she now held in fee simple the great bulwark triangle of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which controlled the main passage between herself and Germany. To these she added Breisach, the invaluable outpost of the upper Rhine, and Pinerolo, "the gateway to Italy." Besides these, still, the landgravate of all Alsace, the government of ten imperial cities, and the right to garrison Philippsburg gave her control of all that coveted area, save Strassburg. This, with an agreement that no fortresses were to be built on the Rhine from Basle to Philippsburg, made her secure upon her eastern front against her most persistent enemy, and thus completed her "satisfaction."

The German states

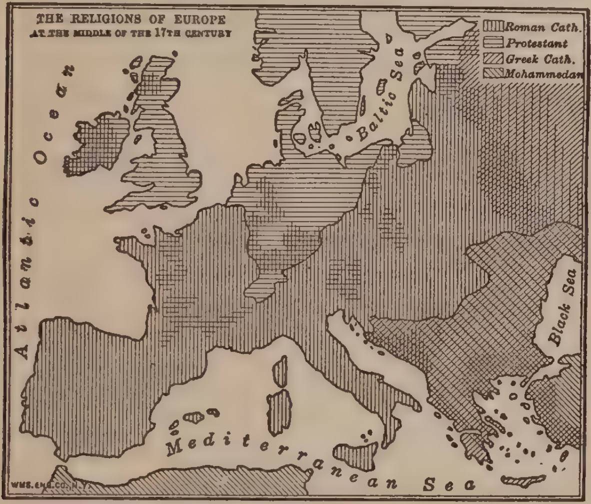
This was not all the loss to the imperial power, for readjustments such as these brought with them the necessity of compensation to the German states affected by them or by the recent war. Brandenburg, in consequence, received as indemnity for its losses in Pomerania the bishoprics of Minden, Halberstadt, and Camin, as secular principalities, and the reversion of the archbishopric of Magdeburg. Hesse-Cassel, besides a money indemnity, secured possession of lesser episcopal and abbey lands; Brunswick, a claim upon the bishopric of Osnabrück; and Mecklenburg, the bishoprics of Ratzeburg and Schwerin.

The Empire

Such were the principal changes of boundaries and authority within the Empire; and these but slightly affected the imperial power. But this was not the case with the next group of the provisions which the peace imposed upon the house of Hapsburg, the so-called secular interests of the Empire. The proclamation of a general amnesty and restoration of the status before the war was modified by the retention of the electoral dignity in the Bavarian branch of the house of Wittelsbach, and the creation of an eighth electorate for the dispossessed Rudolfian branch of the Palatinate. Far more important was the so-called territorial superiority of the component parts of the Empire. This recognized the right of the whole body of estates to the control of their external affairs, the right to make treaties with each other and with foreign powers, if not directed against the imperial person or authority. With such a provision formally recognized, whatever sovereignty the Emperor had held dissolved into the shadowiest of suzerainties, and Germany became a mere congeries of petty states, like Italy. From the conflict which had begun a century and a half earlier with Maximilian's attempt to make imperial power a reality, Germany emerged a nation divided against itself. The principle of the *Fürstenstaat,* a state of princes, had triumphed over the doctrine of centralized power, and middle Europe turned definitely aside from the polity of the rest of the continent, save Italy.

The religious settlement

And what of those great religious issues for which the war had nominally been fought? The terms of the peace which ended it reflected the altered character of a conflict which at its close found Catholic France allied with Protestant Sweden and a Protestant Hessian in command of the Catholic Imperialist army. Briefly, three great provisions determined the ecclesiastical status. The first was the recognition of equality between Protestant and Catholic estates in all affairs of the Empire, including the equal division of the imperial court between the two communions. The second was the extension of the Peace of Augsburg and the Convention of Passau to include the Calvinists, thus placed on the same plane as Lutherans. The third was the adoption of 1624 as the "annus normalis," or date from which possession of ecclesiastical estates and form of religion should be reckoned. The territorial lords retained the so-called "right of reformation," but to their subjects was secured the right of emigration to escape their masters' possibly too zealous churchmanship. The subjugated Protestants of Austria and Bohemia were left to the mercies of their rulers, but the Rhenish states which, like Baden and the lower Palatinate, had found their Protestantism overborne by Catholic conquest, were permitted to resume the exercise of their former faith.



These, in brief, were the provisions of the greatest peace

General results Europe had seen thus far in her long history. By that extraordinary settlement the Empire became a European rather than a German institution and prolonged its existence by the sacrifice of its vitality. On the one side the Swedish empire, on the other the more homogeneous kingdom of France, challenged the supremacy once wielded by the house of Hapsburg. The old alliance of church and state as exemplified in the ascendancy of Empire and Papacy was forever at an end. Protestantism was secure in those lands which had accepted its doctrines, and what efforts Catholicism was to make for its suppression thenceforth were put forth through the national states and not through any general European agency—for "the mediæval order of the European world was over."

Germany Nor was this all. Seldom in history has any land suffered what Germany endured in the preceding thirty years. Between a fourth and a half of her total population had been destroyed, while in certain districts scarcely a fiftieth of the inhabitants remained. Towns by the score and villages by the hundred were wholly wiped out, with castles, farms, bridges, and country-houses innumerable, till the whole basis of ordered existence in great parts of the west and south seemed almost if not quite destroyed. This was accompanied by a shifting of classes and interests. The chief destruction had fallen on old Germany, the richest and most enlightened districts of the purest German blood which lay between the Rhine and the Elbe. In consequence the half-German absolutist powers of the east, Brandenburg and Austria in particular, gained relatively if not absolutely in strength.

The earliest and fiercest blows had been struck against the Protestantism of the south, and from that blow it never recovered. Bohemian lands were parceled out among a Catholic-Austrian nobility and Bohemia was dragooned into resumption of the older faith. In the Hapsburg possessions the same policy was put in force, and Austria now came to rival Spain as the bulwark of Catholicism. Yet from the long conflict Protestantism had emerged alive and vigorous. The unity of western Christendom under the mediæval church of Rome was gone forever. Thenceforth came on the scene new doctrines and new policies, a balance of power, national interests, a unity in diversity, and that perpetual shifting of creeds and alliances which marks the unstable equilibrium of a modern world. The Peace of Westphalia became, in large measure, the basis of the public law of Europe and its fundamental principles remained in effect for nearly a century and a half. The doctrine of balance of power among Catholics, Lutherans, and Protestants, as between the Empire and its constituent parts, was, indeed, largely regulated by external forces, in particular those of Sweden and France, and made for the aggrandizement of the latter especially. But, indeterminate as any such settlement which rests upon the shifting sands of a continually altering society must be, the Peace of Westphalia remains, none the less, one of the great landmarks of European history. In a political sense it divided the old from the new, and like the Renaissance, the discoveries, and the Reformation, perhaps rather like the scientific renaissance, it marks the change from mediæval to modern methods and spirit.

The fall of the old English monarchy

It was almost at once supplemented by a movement which gave even more dramatic emphasis to the changes then taking place in the world of politics. The peace was signed on October 24, 1648. At that moment the imprisoned English king was deep in negotiation with his rebellious Parliament, and dreaming of a division among his enemies, of intervention from abroad, of an infinity of contingencies, which might enable him to rescue from the shipwreck of his fortunes that royal power which had slipped from his grasp. But his machinations were to prove as vain as his hopes. While the old Germany and the old system of European polity passed away, the old English monarchy came to an end. The tradition of royal inviolability was broken, the divinity which hedged in a king was shattered, and England turned to new courses at the same moment that European polity was revolutionized.

Thus was a great chapter of history closed, and there began another which was to prove greater still. The era of

The transition to modern polity

religious wars was over, that of the conflict for popular sovereignty had begun. And, as the world turned from the one struggle to the other, it was apparent that henceforth the issues and methods of political affairs, no less than the spiritual and intellectual bases of European life, which had endured in some form at least since the Reformation, were destined to profound and rapid change. As the secular interest had finally triumphed over the ecclesiastical, so popular privilege was about to assert itself effectively against royal prerogative, and individualism challenge authority. Two centuries earlier the concurrent fall of Constantinople and the expulsion of the English from France had marked the double crisis of Europe's affairs. Now the signature of the great peace and the collapse of English kingship indicated that Europe again confronted the reorganization of her principles and her practices.

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